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Do Traditional Models of Assimilation Still Apply?: Models of Assimilation Among Albanian Americans of St. George Cathedral in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

by
Stephanie A. Callahan

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To the "Albanian side" of the family, Yaya, Nana, Papa, and Mom, for instilling within me a deep appreciation for our Albanian traditions, family history, strong coffee, and baklava.

CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Since more than a century ago sociologists have taken a keen interest in the degree to which—and how—the variety of immigrant groups in America have "assimilated" to the dominant culture. By the mid-twentieth century the earliest theorists in the field had developed what we now view as the traditional theories or models of assimilation. These so-called traditional theories were based on the study of European immigrants who came to America between 1820-1920 and identified a variety of models of assimilation, according to degree of assimilation. The traditional models also describe the degree of pluralism, or the degree to which—and how—ethnic groups maintain their individual identities within the larger society. More recently, sociologist Joseph Healey has made the distinction that assimilation and pluralism are not mutually exclusive; while many traditional theories focus more on the process of assimilation, some theories feature characteristics of pluralism.[1]

Early sociologists Robert Park and Ernest Burgess began the discussion on theories of assimilation in 1924. According to their theory of Americanization (referred to by Stewart G. Cole, Mildred Wise Cole, Michael Gordon, and other sociologists as

[1] Joseph Healey, *Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class: The Sociology of Group Conflict and Change*, 6th ed. (Sage Publications, Inc., 2014), 43.

Anglo-Conformity[2]), new immigrant groups are coerced by the larger society into adopting pre-existing language and customs in order to access wealth, education, and skilled employment. Under this model, the ethnic group does not maintain its ethnic identity past the third generation, nor does it influence or alter the host culture.[3]

Other models of assimilation allow for the immigrant group to maintain some semblance of their original culture, be it language, food, religion, or other customs. In Horace Kallen's model of Cultural Pluralism, for example, the immigrant group is influenced by the larger society, but still allowed "the right to be different."[4] A similar theory is Milton Gordon's Acculturation but not Assimilation model, in which immigrant groups are both influenced by and influencing the majority culture. Gordon found it is a group's structural pluralism (its independent religious, educational, and bureaucratic structures) that permits degrees of separation from the larger society.[5]

Alternatively, some models of assimilation allow for a pluralistic approach to culture, as opposed to assimilation. An almost wholly pluralistic model, the Melting Pot, was popularized by Israel Zangwill's 1908 play *The Melting-Pot* and legitimized by sociologist Oscar Handlin. In this model the larger society absorbs aspects of multiple cultures; all groups contribute somewhat equally "to an emerging national character."[6]

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[2] Stewart G. Cole and Mildred Wiese Cole, *Minorities and the American Promise,* Ch. 6 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954); Michael Gordon, *Human Nature, Class and Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 184.

[3] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924), 773.

[4] Horace Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924), 122-124; and Greeley, 305-306.

[5] Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 114.

The later Triple Melting Pot model emerged after Ruby Jo Kennedy's study of intermarriage in New Haven, Connecticut in the 1940s found that increasing intermarriage is not "general and indiscriminate" but "channeled by religious barriers."[7] Will Herberg expanded on the Triple Melting Pot theory in the 1950s, arguing that religion was replacing ethnicity as the primary means of self-identification among many Third Generation Americans, and that American white ethnics in the postwar world were best organized into three "melting pots": Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism.[8]

Recent research suggests that theories that applied to European immigrant groups of 1820-1920 may apply to neither their descendants, deemed "white ethnics," nor the United States' newest immigrant groups. With the ethnic revival of the 1960s and an influx of new immigrants, sociologists have revised and added to the traditional theories of assimilation. By the 1970s William Newman argued that pluralism and assimilation remain useful concepts only if we remember "that not all groups become 'American' in the same way."[9] Herbert Gans' theory of Symbolic Ethnicity describes descendants who express their ethnic identity through "a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behavior."[10] Yet another

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[6] Oscar Handlin, *Immigration as a Factor in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1959), 146; and Israel Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot: Drama in Four Acts* (New York: Macmillan, 1932).

[7] Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Journal of Sociology* 49, no. 4 (January 1944), 339.

[8] Will Herberg, *Protestant—Catholic—Jew* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 31.

[9] William Newman, *American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 182.

[10] Herbert Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 1979), 9.

theory about descendants is the model of Unhyphenated Whites. This theory is based on Stanley Lieberson's findings of an increasing self-identification among white ethnics as American, as opposed to a hyphenated ethnicity such as "Irish-American," "Polish-American," etc.[11] The theory of Unhyphenated Whites supposed that descendants of white European immigrants display a shared, trans-ethnic "European immigrant" heritage.

Even with the introduction of divergent models, however, most scholars who research American immigrant groups, even since the 1970s, evaluate their data according to the traditional theories of assimilation and degrees of pluralism. One example, Neil Sandberg's *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish American Community* is a cohesive study of ethnic identity in light of national, religious, and cultural values. Sandberg captures the complexity of group assimilation across generations, even arguing that each generation fits its own perspective of assimilation.[12] Many works, such as Stefano Luconi's recent study of Italian-Americans' battle against Americanization efforts during the World Wars, detail the struggle of ethnic groups to maintain their culture.[13] Contemporary studies also use a variety of processes to study level of commitment to ethnic identity. Lilach Ari studied the ethnic identity of Jewish

[11] Stanley Lieberson, "Unhyphenated Whites in the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1985), 175; The scholarship of Jason Torkelson and Douglass Hartman shows that this trend is greater among white ethnics, with 14% of the white population asserting an ethnic identity, as compared with 27% of the non-white population. Jason Torkelson and Douglass Hartman, "White Ethnicity in Twenty-first Century America: Findings from a New National Survey." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 8 (Jan. 2010), 1321.

[12] Neil Sandberg, *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish-American Community, Case Study of Metropolitan Los Angeles* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974).

[13] Stefano Luconi, "The Impact of Italy's Twentieth-Century Wars on Italian American's Ethnic Identity," *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics* 13, no. 3 (Fall 2007), 465-466; and Nancy Carnevale, "'No Italian Spoken for the Duration of the War': Language, Italian-American Identity, and Cultural Pluralism in the World War II Years," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 22, no. 3 (Spring 2003), 3-33.

descendants in 2012 using a questionnaire format, while Orsolya Koloszvari studied Hungarian immigrant's ethnic identity by interviewing recent immigrants of the Hungarian-American community.[14]

Very few studies of any kind exist, however, on the historical or contemporary Albanian-American community. The only major sociological study of modes of assimilation adopted by this group was a dissertation in 1982 by Dennis Nagi. Previously, Wayne Miller called for a study of this small ethnic group in his 1976 compilation *A Comprehensive Bibliography for the Study of American Minorities*, published by New York University Press. Not only does Miller call for a comprehensive study of the Albanian-American community, but also argues that the Albanian-American population is a small community that "invites serious study."[15] In his 1982 work, Nagi answers Wayne Miller's call for study of assimilation among this ethnic group.

Nagi's project, titled *Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group: The Albanian Community of Boston, Massachusetts* studied modes of assimilation adopted by the multiple generations of Albanian-American members of St. George Orthodox Cathedral in the Greater Boston area, classifying them using four traditional models of assimilation: Anglo-Conformity, the Melting Pot, Cultural

[14] Lilach Ari, "North Americans, Israelis, or Jews? The Ethnic Identity of Immigrants' Offspring," *Contemporary Jewry* 32, Issue 3 (Oct. 2012), 285-286; and Orsolya Kolozsvari, "Cultivating a Symbolic Ethnicity and Resisting Assimilation: Identity Work Among Hungarian Immigrants," *The Official Journal of the North Carolina Sociological Association* 11, Issue 1 (Spring/Summer 2013), 5.

[15] *A Comprehensive Bibliography for the Study of American Minorities,* compiled by Wayne Miller (New York: New York University Press, 1976).

Pluralism, and Acculturation-but-not-Assimilation.[16] Nagi explored five research questions in his thesis. Firstly, he asked, *What is the relationship of each generational group within the Albanian-American community of Boston to ethnicity?* His next question was: what is the relationship among Albanian Americans of different social classes? Nagi also inquired, how extensive is the outward residential movement of Albanian Americans from the settlement areas of the earliest Albanian Americans? His fourth research question was, *What is the occupational mobility of the Boston Albanian Americans over generations and how extensive is their outward residential movement?* Lastly, Nagi asked which of the four traditional perspectives of assimilation best characterized the Albanian Americans: Acculturation-but-not-Assimilation, the Melting Pot, Cultural Pluralism, and Anglo-Conformity.[17]

Nagi's method in attaining this information is a two-part survey sent via mail to Albanian Americans belonging to the St. George Cathedral in South Boston, Massachusetts. He sent surveys to 248 people and received a 71.5% response rate, a large response, which he attributes partly to the introductory letter he sent along with each survey, support of the Albanian-American leaders in Boston, and his own Albanian heritage.[18] Of the respondents, most affiliated with Orthodox Christianity: 93.5% of First-Generation participants, 90.8% of Second Generation participants, and 95.7% of

[16] Dennis Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group: The Albanian Community of Boston, Massachusetts," PhD diss., Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1982, *Dissertation Abstracts International* 43, Issue 9 (1983), 3-4.

[17] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 3-4.

[18] Ibid., 96.

Third-Generation participants.[19] Nagi then used multiple categories of analysis to interpret data, collected via a two-part questionnaire answered by respondents from the Albanian-American community. He also included the small body of literature available on the community and conducted "limited personal interviews."[20]

Part one of the research instrument allowed Nagi to measure Albanian Americans' response according to two demographic categories: social class and generation.[21] Part two of Nagi's research instrument asked participants to answer Likert-scale questions designed to assess participants' religious, cultural, and national ethnic identity.[22] Items intended to assess cultural identity asked participants about the importance of "Albanian organizations, the press, as well as the perpetuation of the language, music, dance, history, and traditions of the group." Religious ethnicity was assessed in Likert items asking participants directly about the Albanian Orthodox church; respondents were also asked their personal feelings about involvement within church, as well as the importance of church in relation to other individuals in the community. Nagi also created Likert items that asked participants, "the value of church for others in his kin and ethnic group." To assess participant national ethnicity, Nagi created Likert items

[19] Ibid., 112.

[20] Other than explaining the use of "limited personal interviews," Nagi does not detail this process further. He provides no methodology for his interviews, nor does he quote interviewees throughout the project. Ibid., 22.

[21] Nagi's participants were grouped into three generational categories. Nagi's First-Generation participants, the immigrant generation, averaged a birth year of 1917. For the Second Generation the average birth year was 1932, and for the Third Generation, the mean birth year was 1952. His participants were also grouped into five social classes, based on participant annual income and participant self-report of which class they belong to. Ibid., 94, 107-110.

[22] Ibid., 79-82.

concerning the participants' commitment to America, commitment to Albanian heritage, and commitment to Albanians as a national group. [23]

The data collected in part two of the study indicated continued attachment to ethnic values and traditions, or as Nagi noted, "in terms of their relationship to ethnic continuity."[24] He measured participant ethnic continuity through analysis of Likert item responses, by calculating an ethnicity scale score. By assigning a number value to each Likert item response (Strongly Agree=1, Agree=2, Neutral=3, Disagree=4, Strongly Disagree=5), Nagi's participant responses were averaged to compute an ethnicity scale score representative of participant ethnic continuity. Thus, a mean ethnicity scale score between 1 and 3 indicated the presence of ethnic continuity and a mean ethnicity scale score between 3 and 5 indicated absence of ethnic continuity.

Though studies such as Stanley Lieberson's cite ethnics of the Second and Third Generation moving to heterogeneous middle-class suburbs, Nagi estimated that "although ethnic segregation weakened, reports of its demise were exaggerated." Ultimately, Nagi hypothesized that "ethnicity has a holding power" for members of this population, regardless of social class movement and generation.[25] Nagi's findings are as follows: neither generation nor social class influenced mode of assimilation among this community,[26] most Albanian Americans not only moved outside of the community's original settlement areas, but also penetrated all areas of Boston and Greater Boston, and

[23] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 79-82.

[24] Ibid., 79-82.

[25] Ibid., 3-5, 82-84.

[26] Ibid., 177.

Albanian Americans "experienced upward mobility to a fairly high degree,"[27] (particularly among those Albanian Americans with increased levels of education). Lastly, Dennis Nagi's 1982 survey described the community as being best characterized by the mode of assimilation of Cultural Pluralism.[28]

Prior to 1990 the Albanian-American community was fairly homogenous. Most Albanian immigrants prior to 1931 were males from rural, southern Albania. The majority also belonged to the Tosk tribe, a distinction used to describe a difference in dialect, and practiced Orthodox Christianity. These Albanian Americans settled in mass the Greater Boston area, some after first attempting to live in other regions of the United States, or even different countries. Furthermore, many of these Albanian immigrants settled in Boston specifically to attain a higher standard of living.[29] According to the 1980 census data, 38,658 citizens reported having at least one Albanian ancestor.[30] Estimates done by the Albanian-American population in 1982 differ, predicting that 70,000 Albanian Americans were living in the country, with at least 1,200 in the Massachusetts.[31] Also by 1982, three or more Albanian American families held a

[27] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 99.

[28] Ibid., 174.

[29] Joseph Roucek, *One America*, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954), 234-236.

[30] U.S. Census Bureau: Population Division, *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign Born Population of the United States: 1850-2000*, Working Paper No. 81, Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung (February 2006), http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0081/twps0081.html (accessed May 5, 2015).

[31] This number is based on church records from St. George Cathedral in 1982 and excludes any Muslim, Catholic, Orthodox, or non-religious Albanian Americans who resided in the Greater Boston area but were not on the cathedral's mailing list. Also, another reason these estimates differ is due to the large number of Albanians who first traveled to other countries before settling in America. Robert Tochka, *The Development of the Boston Albanian Community, 1900-1920*, unpublished (1945), 10.

presence in over twenty-one communities of Greater Boston.[32] Of this community, Nagi surveyed 248 Albanian Americans belonging to the Albanian Orthodox church of the Greater Boston area.

Over the past thirty-two years, however, more generations of Albanian Americans have arrived, dramatically changing the makeup of the Albanian-American community in Boston, and the whole United States, warranting further study of modes of assimilation adopted by the group.[33]

Post-1990 Albanian Immigration to the United States

After almost fifty years of emigration being considered treason to the then-communist Albanian government, emigration rights were restored to Albanian citizens in 1990, when this communist regime fell.[34] Almost immediately a mass exodus from the country occurred, which has since been documented and analyzed by numerous historians, economists, sociologists, an anthropologists alike. Nearly 25% of the

[32] This small, homogenous population is the subject of Dennis Nagi's 1982 study. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 101.

[33] Nagi himself called for further study of the Third Generation of Albanian-Americans (as his research on this generation, young adults in 1982, was largely inconclusive) and subsequent research on the Fourth Generation of Albanian-Americans once feasible. Ibid., 183-185.

[34] Native Albanians were stripped of their emigration rights from the start of World War II until July 2, 1990, limiting growth of the Albanian-American diaspora until then. Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, *Albania Country Profile*, Louis R. Mortimer (April 1992), 17; To leave the country was considered treason, and the punishment could be as severe as the death penalty. Edwin E. Jacques, *The Albanians: An Ethnic History from Prehistoric Times to the Present*. (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc. Publishers, 1995), 435-439, 450-455, 538; Miranda Vickers, *The Albanians: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995), 163; Albania Country Profile, 30-34; Julie Vullnetari, "Albanian Migration and Development: State of the Art Review," *IMISCOE Working Paper* no. 18, (September 2007), 30.

population of Albania left in the 1990s, many traveling to Greece and Italy and others to Canada and the United States.[35] The 1990 U.S. Census showed 47,710 Americans claiming at least one Albanian ancestor, with total population estimates ranging from 75,000 to 150,000.[36]

Throughout the 1990s the Albanian-American community continued to grow. Immigration statistics show an increasing number of Albanian immigrants each year of this decade, from only 142 in 1991, to 682 in 1992, to as many as 3,699 in 1999.[37] In addition to these legalized permanent residents, America also welcomed 20,000 Kosovar refugees (ethnic Albanians) as legal aliens in 1998. Though many of these ethnic Albanians returned to Europe, others eventually made their home in America. In just one decade, 21,513 Albanians entered America legally.[38]

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[35] Numerous scholars agree that the majority of these Albanians immigrated to the United States. Calogero Carletto, Benjamin Davis, Marco Stampini, Stefano Trento, and Alberto Zezza, "Internal Mobility and International Migration in Albania," *Agricultural and Development Economics Division ESA*, Working Paper No. 04-13 (June 2004), 1-4, 16-18. Calogero Carletto, Benjamin Davis, Marco Stampini, and Alberto Zezza, "A Country on the Move: International Migration in Post-Communist Albania," *International Migration Review* 40, issue 4 (2006), 767-785. Kosic, Ankica, and Anna Triandafyllidou, "Albanian Immigrants in Italy: Migration Plans, Coping Strategies and Identity Issues," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29, no. 6 (2003), 1003. Vullnetari, "Albanian Migration and Development: State of the Art Review," 30. Valbona Sulemani, "The Albanian Diaspora: Immigration and Settlement Experiences," *Theses and Dissertations* (Paper 624. Ryerson University, 2009), 2, 17.

[36] These numbers corroborate the population according to 1982 church records, showing minimal growth in the Boston and American community between 1982 and 1990. According to U.S. immigration statistics, the official number of Albanian immigrants was slim from 1983-1991. The records show the following number of Albanian immigrants during these years: 22 in 1983, 32 in 1984, 45 in 1985, 53 in 1986, 62 in 1987, 82 in 1988, 71 in 1989, 78 in 1990, 142 in 1991. U.S. Census Bureau: Population Division, *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign Born Population of the United States: 1850-2000*, Working Paper No. 81, Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung (February 2006), http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0081/twps0081.html (accessed May 5, 2015).

[37] U.S. Department of Homeland Security: Office of Immigration Statistics, *2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, September, 2012.

[38] U.S. Department of Homeland Security: Office of Immigration Statistics, *2004 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, 2006.

In 2000 U.S. Census records showed at least 113,661 people reporting Albanian ancestry, with 10,594 of these Albanian Americans residing in Massachusetts.[39] From 2000 to 2013 the population increased by at least another 65,452 legal immigrants.[40] Throughout each of these thirteen years the annual number of Albanian immigrants ranged between 3,000 and 7,900.[41] The findings of the Albanian government corroborate these estimates, predicting that by 2005, 150,000 Albanian immigrants were living in America, and today the estimated total is close to one quarter of a million.[42]

[39] Stephanie Schwander-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, ed., *Albanian Identities: Myth and History* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002), 140; U.S. Census Bureau: Population Division, *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign Born Population of the United States: 1850-2000*, Working Paper No. 81, Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung (February 2006), http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0081/twps0081.html (accessed May 5, 2015).

[40] Vullnetari claims that this mass exodus from Albania ended in 2000, despite continued growth in the population. Vullnetari, 34.

[41] These numbers may be higher, as the findings do not account for those born into the Albanian American community. U.S. Department of Homeland Security: Office of Immigration Statistics, *2004 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, 2006; U.S. Department of Homeland Security: Office of Immigration Statistics, *2013 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*.

[42] Gjergji Filipi, "Migration in Albania: May, 2014," INSTAT Instituti I Statistikave: Gent Grafik, Tirane, 2014), 33-34, http://www.instat.gov.al/media/242045/migration_in_albania.pdf (accessed June 6, 2015); Schwander-Sievers and Fischer, 140; Stephan Thernstrom, "Albania." *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), 25.

Table I

ALBANIAN AMERICAN POPULATION GROWTH 1880-2013

Years	*Number of Albanians Immigrating*	*Total Population of First-Generation Albanian Americans*[43]	*Total Estimated Albanian-American Population (including descendants)*
1886-1899[44]	1	1	1
1900-1909	42	42	42
1910-1919	583-1,258	625-1,300	625-1,300
1920-1929	4,308-5,000	5,608	No data
1930-1939	3,206	8,814	No data
1940-1959	804	9,618	No data
1960-1969	No data	9,180	No data
1970-1979	No data	7,381	No data
1980-1989	268-	5,627	38,658
1990-1999	21,513	38,663	47,710-70,000
2000-2009	50,269	88,932	113,661
2010-2013	14,873	103,805	150,000-250,000

[43] Population listed is the number recorded by the end of the decade referenced. For example, there were 5,627 First-Generation Albanian Americans living in America by 1989.

[44] The Table begins in 1886, when the first Albanian American is documented as settling in America.

This influx of Albanian immigrants in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century caused a significant increase in not only the number of, but also diversity among Albanian Americans. Sulemani explains how ethnic Albanians immigrating to America in the years from 1983 to 2013 came from various regions in Europe, many immigrating from Italy or Greece, even Macedonia. Kosovar Albanians also diversified the group.[45] In addition to ethnic Albanians emigrating from various locations, they are also immigrating to regions of the United States other than Greater Boston. As early as 1990 there were more Albanian Americans in New York than in Massachusetts.[46] This geographic diversity changed the makeup of the Albanian-American community, one previously limited to those emigrating from southern Albania and making their new home in the Greater Boston area.

In addition to regional diversity, the Albanian-American community of today mirrors the religious diversity found in the old country, reportedly 70% Muslim, 20% Christian Orthodox, and 10% Roman Catholic.[47] The Kosovar refugees added to the religious diversity of the Albanian-American community, as many of them self-report as Muslim.[48] Also unlike the Albanian Americans who immigrated to the U.S. in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, many post-1980 immigrants have had

[45] Sulemani, 33-34.

[46] The largest concentration of these Albanian Americans settled in the Bronx. U.S. Census Bureau: Population Division, *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign Born Population of the United States: 1850-2000*, Working Paper No. 81, Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung (February 2006), http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0081/twps0081.html (accessed May 5, 2015).

[47] Federal Research Division, 18.

[48] Barjaba discusses how approximately 20,000 Kosovar Albanian immigrants were Muslim. Religious differences, however, did not hinder support from Christian Albanian communities. Barjaba, Kosta, "Contemporary Patterns in Albanian Emigration," *South-East Europe Review* 2, (2000), 59. Cited in *The Albanian-American Community in the United States,* 6.

significantly less exposure to religion. Beginning in 1945, Enver Hoxha campaigned against religion, imprisoning priests, renovating churches and mosques into gymnasiums and nationalist museums, and, finally in 1976, declaring Albania "the first atheist state."[49] In contrast to the former population of Albanian Americans, predominantly Orthodox, today's community exemplifies religious diversity. Additionally, while the earliest Albanian immigrants were predominantly male, females following a decade or two behind, both females and males emigrated from Albania starting in 1990.[50]

With a population climbing towards a quarter million in 2015, only a small percentage of these Albanians followed the settlement pattern of their ancestors, making their home in the Greater Boston area.[51] As of 2012 MAAS BESA (the Massachusetts Albanian-American Society, a non-profit cultural organization founded in 2004) predicts that of the national Albanian-American population there are approximately 46,000 Albanian Americans living in Massachusetts, 5,000 to 6,000 of which live in the Greater Boston area.[52]

Given the dramatic changes in the Albanian-American community since the 1980s and the dearth of scholarly work on the population, new scholarship like Nagi's is overdue. This project studies the small community of Albanian Americans affiliated with

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[49] Jacques, 498.

[50] Males emigrated in slightly larger numbers between 1989 and 2000, with migration between males and females being almost even between 2001-2011. Filipi, 33-34.

[51] Thernstrom, 25.

[52] Kosmo, Mark. Unpublished, 2012. MAAS BESA database of Albanian Americans in Greater Boston in 2012; According to the U.S. Census of 2000 there were 10,594 Albanian Americans in Massachusetts, most of whom are living in the Greater Boston area. U.S. Census Bureau: Population Division, *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign Born Population of the United States: 1850-2000*, Working Paper No. 81, Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung (February 2006), http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0081/twps0081.html (accessed May 5, 2015).

the St. George Cathedral in South Boston, and compares their ethnic, national, and religious attachments and degrees of assimilation to those of Nagi's population from thirty years ago. Participants of my study were drawn from members of the church and other Albanian Americans who attend church services and/or receive e-mail correspondence from the church, their mailing list currently approaching twelve hundred.[53] Though the larger Albanian American community of Greater Boston today is more religiously diverse than in the 1980s, the mostly Christian Orthodox community affiliated with this church can provide information about assimilation tendencies that can be compared with Nagi's population community thirty years ago, giving us insight into changes and continuities in ethnic continuity and degrees of assimilation. Though not conclusive about the Albanian-American community at large today, this research will begin the next chapter in Albanian-American history, detailing modes of assimilation that best characterize this community in twenty-first century America.

This study asks the following research question: Of the following models of assimilation, Anglo-Conformity, the Melting Pot, Cultural Pluralism, Acculturation but not Assimilation, the Triple Melting Pot, Symbolic Ethnicity, and Unhyphenated Whites, which best describes each generation of this select community of contemporary Albanian Americans connected to the Albanian Orthodox Church in Greater Boston, and how to the results compare with Nagi's results? To do this I will interpret data collected via two-part questionnaire against the independent variable of generation.[54] I will also interview

[53] This figure is according to the St. George Cathedral mailing list number, as of Fall 2013.

[54] My research design is similar to Dennis Nagi's and will be detailed further in Chapter 1.

members from this portion of the Albanian-American community to supplement the data and provide clarification on the trends shown by the data.

Part one of my research instrument will measure participant responses according to one demographic category: generation. Part two of the research instrument will include Likert items designed to assess participants' religious, cultural, and national ethnic identity. Further description on the development and implementation of my research instrument will be detailed in Chapter 1. Data collected from these Likert items will be used to calculate mean ethnicity scale scores, which allow for analysis of trends across the independent variable of generation. In Chapter 1 I will further detail how both ethnicity scale scores and analysis of participant interviews allow me to assess which model of assimilation best describes each generation of this community.

The demographic category of generation will be determined by participant response to Questions 4-10 in part one of the survey.[55] The First-Generation participants in my study, in contrast to Nagi's, are the Albanian Americans who were born in Albania between 1950s and 1980s and immigrated to America sometime after 1989. Second-Generation participants are those born in America between 1930s and 1940s to at least one First-Generation parent.[56] Third-Generation participants are those born in America between 1950s and 1960s to at least one Second-Generation parent. Finally, Fourth-Generation participants have the youngest mean age, being born in America in the 1970s

[55] Generation and age cohort are identified both by participant birth year and parentage, as shown in detail in Table II. Part one of the survey can be found in Appendix C.

[56] These First-Generation parents are typically of the first, second, and, to a lesser extent, third age cohorts studied by Nagi. More information on age cohorts can be found in Table II.

and 1980s to at least one Third-Generation parent.[57] Age cohorts within each generation will represent members of the generation closer in age, an important factor when analyzing data; these cohorts are shown in detail in Table II.

Table II

BREAKDOWN OF GENERATIONS AND AGE COHORTS

Generation	**Age Cohort**	**Birth Years**	**In Nagi's Study**	**Number of participants**	**In this study**	**Number of participants**
First Generation	First	1870-1899	YES	31	NO	0
	Second	1900-1929	YES		NO	0
	Third	1930-1949	YES		YES	2
	Fourth	1950-1969	NO	0	YES	3
	Fifth	1970-1993	NO	0	YES	9
Second Generation	First	1920-1939	YES	98	YES	15
	Second	1940-1969	YES		YES	6
Third Generation	First	1940-1959	YES	47	YES	11
	Second	1960-1979	YES		YES	14
Fourth Generation	First	1960-1979	NO	0	YES	2
	Second	1980-1999	NO	0	NO	2

[57] Few conclusions can be drawn from the limited data collected on the Fourth Generation, as will be explained in detail later in the thesis.

In addition to interviews and surveys, my source material includes selections of the primary and secondary sources archived at the Fan S. Noli Library and Archives, Dennis Nagi's collection of data from 1982, and contemporary sociological studies. Chapter 2 will provide necessary context on the history of Albanian Americans connected to the Albanian Orthodox Church and living in Greater Boston, so as to situate the reader within the history surrounding this study's Second, Third, and Fourth-Generation participants. This history also introduces the reader to the First-Generation participants of the first and second age cohorts studied by Dennis Nagi, allowing for comparison of modes of assimilation among earlier First-Generation age cohorts with contemporary age cohorts.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 of the study will analyze First, Second, Third and Fourth-Generation survey responses and interviews, respectively. These three chapters are further organized into sections detailing participants' relation to cultural, religious, and national ethnicity, three categories used to determine an ethnicity scale score for each generation.[58] The ethnicity scale score, as well as interviewee remarks are crucial in determining the modes of assimilation among this population. The analysis in these chapter provides the basis for the study's conclusions, found in Chapter 6.

This thesis will draw from independent research and the existing body of historical and sociological work on Albanian Americans to determine which of the following models of assimilation, Anglo-Conformity, the Melting Pot, Cultural Pluralism, Acculturation but not Assimilation, the Triple Melting Pot, Symbolic Ethnicity, and Unhyphenated Whites, best describes each of the contemporary

[58] The ethnicity scale score is calculated from survey responses on Likert items. The process of determining an ethnicity scale score will be detailed in Chapter 1.

generations of the Orthodox Albanian-American community of Greater Boston, and compare my results to those of Nagi in 1982. The first significant history of Albanians in America was *The Albanian Struggle in the Old World and the New*, compiled in 1938 by the Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration of Massachusetts, and I will use it as background on the history of Albanian Americans in the twentieth century.[59] In addition, in Joseph Roucek's 1954 book *One America*, the Albanian Americans are allotted one chapter, with emphasis placed on Albanian-American cultural institutions.[60] Thirdly, *Albanians in America* by Constantine Demo, published in 1960, is another important history based on first-hand experiences of an early Albanian immigrant.[61] Another substantial history on the Albanian Americans is the unpublished *The Development of the Boston Albanian Community, 1900-1920* by Robert Tochka.[62] These materials and others are archived at the Fan S. Noli Library in South Boston, the largest repository of primary and secondary-source materials on Albanian Americans.

Most works on post-1990 Albanian immigration focus on the causes and depth of this mass exodus from the homeland. Valbona Sulemani's unpublished graduate thesis titled, *The Albanian Diaspora: Immigration and Settlement Experiences* details Albanian emigration from 1900 to the present day, contrasting the experience of Albanians in Italy

[59] Federal Writers Project, *The Albanian Struggle: In the Old World and New* (Boston: The Writer, Inc., 1939).

[60] Joseph Roucek, *One America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954).

[61] Constantine Demo, *The Albanians in America: The First Arrivals* (Boston: Society of Fatbardhesia of Katundi, 1960).

[62] Robert Tochka, "The Development of the Boston Albanian Community, 1900-1920" (Unpublished, 1945).

and Greece to Albanians who settled in America and Canada.[63] The collective work of Calogero Carletto, Benjamin Davis, Marco Stampini, Stefano Trento, and Alberto Zezza documents how Albania transitioned from an isolationist country to one that lost one fifth of its total population to emigration since 1990. The paper analyzes push and pull factors of this mass migration and concludes that the exodus has hurt the Albanian economy and "social fabric."[64] Julie Vullnetari's comprehensive scholarship studies migration patterns within and emigration from Albania, but does not report on modes of assimilation among the Albanian diaspora.[65]

I anticipate benefit to the greater community of Albanian Americans, as this study will introduce the small ethnic community to the larger sociological and historical community. Benefit to the sociological community is also expected, as this study focuses on a lesser-known ethnic group, with participants immigrating in the late 20th century. Benefits to the historical community include original research on a lesser-known ethnic group. The study will also draw comparisons between the Albanian-American community Nagi studied in 1982, some of the founding members of the Albanian-American community in the Greater Boston area, and the ethnic group's present state, over a century after its founding.

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[63] Sulemani, 2, 17.

[64] Carletto et al, 1-4, 16-18; Calogero Carletto, Benjamin Davis, Marco Stampini, and Alberto Zezza have also published "A Country on the Move: International Migration in Post-Communist Albania," with similar findings. Carletto et al, "A Country on the Move: International Migration in Post-Communist Albania," *International Migration Review* 40, issue 4 (2006), 767-785.

[65] Vullnetari, "Albanian Migration and Development: State of the Art Review," 1-93; Julie Vullnetari, "Women and Migration in Albania: A View from the Village," *International Migration* 50, no. 5, (Oct. 2012), 169-188. The latter of these sources details the presence and importance of women as participants in the mass emigration, which Vullnetari explains is often ignored by scholars.

CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH DESIGN, IMPLEMENTATION, AND ANALYTICAL METHODS

By limiting my study to the contemporary Albanian-Americans connected to St. George Cathedral in South Boston I ensured the proper population from which I could measure not only models of assimilation among this population, but also compare participants' ethnic, national, and religious attachments and degrees of assimilation to those of Nagi's population from thirty years ago. This church is still a cultural center for the Orthodox Christians in this ethnic group, with a membership that is approaching 1,200 Albanian-Americans, not including children.[66]

Before designing this project in full I first sought sanction of the study from the leaders of St. George Cathedral, particularly the Very Reverend Arthur Liolin, current Chancellor of the Boston-based Albanian Archdiocese and pastor of St. George Cathedral. I first met with Fr. Arthur Liolin to discuss the project in October of 2013, when he gave me a preliminary approval for the project. I then designed my research instrument to include a two-part electronic questionnaire. The first portion of this survey contained thirty demographic questions and the second portion of my survey consisted of

[66] This figure comes from St. George Cathedral mailing list records as of Fall 2013. Children are not accounted for as they do not subscribe to church mailings or pay membership dues.

twenty-one Likert items that measure ethnicity in terms of religion, culture, and nationality (based on participant response).[67]

Each of the Likert items measuring participant ethnic continuity across three subcategories: religious, cultural and national ethnicity. Questions measuring a participants' religious ethnicity ask the participant to place value on the church, either personally or for the Albanian-American community at large. Likert items assessing both the importance of the perpetuation of Albanian customs and the organizations that preserve Albanian culture measure cultural ethnicity. The last type of Likert item asks participants to determine their commitment to the national heritage of Albania, commitment to Albanians as a national group, as well as commitment to America; these items measure national ethnicity. Analyzing ethnicity in relation to these three subcategories allows for more precise analysis of the data and, thus, a more accurate understanding of models of assimilation within this community.

Calculation of ethnicity scale scores across these three subcategories (religious, cultural, and national ethnicity) will determine which model of assimilation best describes each generation of this community. By assigning a number value to each participant's Likert item response (Strongly Agree=1, Agree=2, Neither agree nor disagree=3, Disagree=4, Strongly Disagree=5), responses were averaged to compute an ethnicity scale score. Each individual Likert item was averaged for computation of a

[67] I am using the five-point Likert scale, recommended by Lilach Ari, as use of an even-point scale does not allow for participants to select a neutral response. With only five potential responses, participants are not coerced into identifying with or against a certain Likert item.

mean level of ethnic identity in each of the three subcategories (cultural, religious, and national identity) and then across the independent variable of generation.[68]

Each ethnicity scale score provides attitudes Albanian-American community in the Albanian Orthodox church of Greater Boston toward Albanian and American cultural, religious, and national identity. The lower the score, the more positive a participant*'s* attitude toward his or her ethnicity. Mean ethnicity scale scores lower than 3 will indicate models of assimilation in which members of the community maintain aspects of their culture: Cultural Pluralism, the Melting Pot, the Triple Melting Pot, and Symbolic Ethnicity.[69] In all of these models of assimilation, participants show a positive attitude to cultural, religious, and national identity. Conversely, a mean ethnicity scale score of higher than 3 will indicate models of assimilation in which members of the community adopt cultural, religious, and national practices of the larger society: Anglo-Conformity, Acculturation but Not Assimilation, and Unhyphenated Whites.

Ethnicity scale score also allows for analysis of trends across the independent variable of generation. For example, within a community befitting the models of assimilation of the Anglo-Conformity, Melting Pot, the Triple Melting Pot, and Unhyphenated Whites ethnic continuity would fade as generation increases. Thus, ethnicity scale score would increase as generation increases.[70] In the model of Cultural Assimilation, ethnicity scale score would increase as generation increases, but ethnicity

[68] The data from these calculations is in Appendix E, Table XLVII.

[69] In the model of assimilation of the Triple Melting Pot, members of the community would show a positive attitude to religious ethnicity, while forsaking other elements of their cultural and national background. Thus, ethnicity scale score for religious identity would be below 3. However, ethnicity scale score for cultural ethnicity and national ethnicity would not be lower than 3.

[70] Ethnicity scale score would also be higher than 3 (showing an absence of ethnic continuity) in such a community.

scale scores for each generation would remain a 3 or lower. These scores are not the only data considered in determining modes of assimilation, but allowed the primary researcher to eliminate some modes of assimilation. As Dennis Nagi used the same method of calculating ethnicity scale score to determine models of assimilation among members of his community, this methodology also allows for comparison of my population of contemporary Albanian Americans to Nagi's population from the 1980s.[71]

I engineered the two-part questionnaire via the website SurveyMonkey, creating both parts one and two of the survey electronically. The website allows for Likert items, multiple-choice questions, and short response questions, all of which I used throughout the survey component. The advanced system also allowed for long responses, rankings, rating scales, matrices of choices, matrices of drop-down menus, input of descriptive text or photos, and demographic information. Responses were collected and stored anonymously on the SurveyMonkey website. By creating an advanced account on the website, I upgraded to a service which analyzed the data from each set of responses using SPSS software. The two-part questionnaire can be found in Appendix C and the data from these surveys is presented in tables in Appendix E.

[71] The primary researcher originally intended to analyze data and interviews in light of two independent variables (as Nagi had in his 1982 study): generation and social class. After collecting and organizing the data, and computing ethnicity scale scores for each social class, however, the data was inconclusive. Ethnicity scale scores were sporadic across each of the five classes; there was no correlation between increase in wealth and change in ethnicity scale score, or decrease in wealth and change in ethnicity scale score. Only a small increase in mean ethnicity scale score occurs as class increases, though this increase is less than 2% from class to class. Additionally, as only one participant self-identified as lower class and only one as upper class, the results for those two categories are void. They represent the views of only one individual, not an entire class of contemporary Albanian Americans of the Greater Boston area with ties to the Albanian Orthodox Church. Results from this question can be found in Appendix E, Table XIII-XIV. Due to both the unanticipated similarity in ethnicity scale score across social classes, and lack of response for two of the classes, this paper does not include analysis of model of assimilation, within this select population of Albanian Americans, according to social class. Data from the ethnicity scale score calculations according to social class is in Appendix E, Table LXX.

I compiled the questionnaire and created a specific link to my survey, which was transmitted to participants via e-mail sent either by SurveyMonkey, myself, or both parties. However, before finalizing the survey I performed a trial on a sample population of Orthodox Albanian Americans in the Greater Boston area.[72] These volunteers, of varying ages and generations, successfully completed the electronic survey without trouble. No adjustments to the questionnaire were necessary after this trial.

In addition to the two-part questionnaire, I compiled a series of interview questions with the intention of interviewing 20-25 Albanian Americans connected to St. George Cathedral and in the Greater Boston area. These interviews would provide personal testimony to the supplement the data collected in the two-part survey. I aimed to interview at least three members of each generation to provide a deepened understanding of the mode of assimilation adopted by this community. My study consisted of 19 interviews. Analysis of interviewee response also contributed to determining models of assimilation among these community members, the methodology of which will be detailed later in this chapter.

During each interview, I asked basic questions of the participant, such as "Do you think of yourself as Albanian, American, or something else?" and "What church organizations do you belong to?" By asking these standard questions of each participant, my study will align with contemporary research on immigrants and ethnic communities, such as Lilach Ari's paper on Jewish ethnics and Olysha Kolozsvari's scholarship on

[72] Participant confidentiality was also ensured among participants in the trial of the survey, as data collected from these respondents was neither viewed by the primary researcher nor analyzed until all survey responses were submitted and the study came to a close.

Hungarian immigrants.[73] Additionally, both Kolozsvari and Ari catered certain questions to each volunteer, ensuring an in-depth interview session. While certain questions regarding childhood background and church involvement will apply to every volunteer, a follow-up question such as "How long have you been singing in the church choir?" may only apply to certain participants. My basic outline for interview questions can be found in Appendix D.

Participant interviews were also analyzed to determine models of assimilation among this Orthodox community of Albanian Americans in the Greater Boston area, after eliminating certain models of assimilation based on ethnicity scale score and ethnicity scale score trends across generation. For example, the models of assimilation of Cultural Pluralism and Symbolic Ethnicity are both categorized by continued attachment to ethnic values and traditions and, thus, ethnicity scale scores lower than three. However, only in Cultural Pluralism do participants actively live out these traditions, continue to practice customs, and belong to ethnic organizations.[74] In order to exhume the subtleties between these two modes of assimilation, interviewees were asked questions to determine levels of participant activity in religious activities, cultural practices, or involvement in national organizations. Thus, Cultural Pluralism will only describe participants partaking in these ethnic activities and practices, or belonging to ethnic organizations.

By March of 2014 the Very Reverend Arthur Liolin approved the electronic survey component of my study and supported by basic outline for interview questions. He also offered his assistance in distribution of the research instrument, inviting me to

[73] Ari, 285-308; Kolozsvari, 5.

[74] According to the model of assimilation of Symbolic Ethnicity, however, participant attachment to ethnicity is more of an emotional attachment, or even nostalgia for ethnic values and traditions.

place a flyer in the weekly church bulletin introducing the interview component of my study to the parishioners. The flyer included my contact information (both cell phone and e-mail address) and asked that those desiring involvement contact me before February 15, 2014. The flyer also clarified that participants must be at least 21 years of age to participate. These measures ensured voluntary participation as opposed to recruitment, and prevented me from selecting a biased pool of participants. Last, the flyer introduced me as a fellow Albanian American and lifelong member of St. George Cathedral.[75] A copy of this flyer can be found in Appendix A, Image 1.[76]

Another way I generated interest for participation in the survey was by speaking directly to the congregation at St. George Cathedral on two separate occasions in March of 2014. I introduced myself to the parishioners and explained my survey's purpose as a part of my Master's thesis at Providence College. I explained further that an e-mail would be sent to all on the church's mailing list including a link to my survey. This e-mail would also contain my contact information should a parishioner wish to inquire further about the project or volunteer to participate in an interview. This e-mail can be found in Appendix A, Contact E-mail 1.

Because most interview participants had initial questions about my project, I sent them a short description of both the interview and survey process. This ensured voluntary participation of each participant and allowed him or her the necessary time to

[75] Dennis Nagi, also an Albanian American, expressed similar sentiments in an introductory letter to his participants, a measure that may have contributed to his high response rate of 71.5%. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 97.

[76] This same flyer was also distributed to parishioners with an active e-mail address, as suggested by Fr. Arthur Liolin when I had received only 30 responses for the survey. The flyer was sent as a PDF attachment with an explanatory note in the body of the e-mail. Both a copy of this flyer and the e-mail text can be found in Appendix A (Image 1, and Contact E-mail 1, respectively).

ask questions of me. A copy of this e-mail can be found in Appendix A, Contact E-mail 2. After his or her questions had been answered I then contacted each interview volunteer individually to set up an interview date. For those participants who e-mailed me expressing interest solely in taking the survey, I sent a personalized e-mail including a link to the SurveyMonkey questionnaire. For those participating in both the interview and survey, I sent a link to the SurveyMonkey questionnaire, asking that the participant complete the survey prior to our scheduled interview. Thus, each participant had an impetus to complete the survey in a timely fashion.

The first two interview volunteers acted as sample interviewees, so that I would know approximately how long the interviews would take. These two trials also afforded me the opportunity to explore any additional questions that needed to be asked of interview participants. I took notes from every interview on my personal computer, which is locked by password, and saved these notes in separate electronic files, each of which is protected by yet another password. Lastly, no data on the computer identifies a participant by his or her true name; an alias is used in every case. The list of correspondence between true names and alias is not written down nor is it saved electronically. This information is stored only in the primary investigator's memory. No film, audio, or video recording took place.

I asked each interview participant to choose a location for his or her interview, which would bring him or her the most convenience. Having conducted sample interviews, I was able to inform each participant that the duration of the interview would be approximately one hour. However, each participant was informed that the interview would not be cut short should they wish to speak for longer than one hour. Upon arrival

at the interview location I presented the interviewee with the informed consent form attached in Appendix B. After answering any questions and obtaining consent from the participant I proceeded to ask the interview questions. Each participant was informed on the written consent form that they may withdraw participation at any point in the process.[77]

I notified participants that they may experience psychological benefit from detailing their involvement in the Albanian-American community of Greater Boston. These benefits to the participants were not intentional, nor were they monitored by the primary investigator. All participants were also notified that should he or she feel that by answering a question they will be physiologically or emotionally compromised, he or she may refrain from answering the question. Additionally, I informed each participant that it is up to his or her judgment whether or not answering a question will place him or her at psychological or emotional risk. Participants were also reminded that he or she held the right to skip those questions that will put him or her at psychological or emotional risk. They are able to skip any question(s) without providing a reason to the primary investigator as to why the question must be skipped. I also informed each participant of these criteria in the informed consent form, presented in Appendix B.

By July 2014 I concluded surveying and interviewing Albanian American members of the St. George community. I hoped for a pool of volunteers diverse in terms of age, generation, gender, social class, church involvement, occupation, and marital status. For this reason, I aimed for at least six participants of each generation to partake in the survey portion and at least three members of each generation to partake in the interview portion. I surpassed my initial goal to survey approximately 50-60 participants,

[77] As of August 18, 2015, no participants have withdrawn.

collecting 67 survey responses in total. For the interview portion of my study, 19 individuals contacted me to express their interest in holding an interview. Thus, I did not meet my goal of interviewing 20-25 Albanian Americans connected to the Orthodox community of Greater Boston.

Despite meeting one of my personal goals, I did not receive as great a response rate as Dennis Nagi. Of the 214 members on the St. George Cathedral e-mail list 67 partook in the survey (a response rate of 31.3%) and 19 contacted me to express their interest in holding an interview (a response rate of 8.87%).[78] My results for survey participation by generation, found in Table I, are as follows: 21.54% for the First Generation, 32.31% for the Second Generation, 40% for the Third Generation, and 6.15% for the Fourth Generation.[79] Of the 19 interview respondents, 6 were First-Generation participants (31.57%), 6 were Second Generation participants (31.57%), and 7 were Third Generation Participants (36.84%). No Fourth Generation participants were interviewed; lack of Fourth Generation participation will be discussed in depth in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

Once all data was collected and interviews were completed, my analysis of the data began. Chapters 3-5 provide detailed analysis of both survey and interview data. Chapter 6 provides conclusions on both models of assimilation among the small community of Albanian Americans affiliated with the St. George Cathedral in South

[78] Nagi's response rate for the First Generation was 57%, for the Second Generation was 77%, and for the Third Generation was 71%. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 109.

[79] Each generation had over 6 participants except for the Fourth Generation, which included only 4 respondents. As in Nagi's study, both the Second and Third Generations showed the highest and second highest response rates, respectively. Ibid., 108-109. For a more specific breakdown of participants by age cohort, refer to Table II in the Introduction.

Boston, and comparisons of today's community to the ethnic, national, and religious attachments and degrees of assimilation to those of Nagi's community of 1982.

Table I

RESPONSE RATE BY GENERATION

Answer Choices	Responses	
First Generation (born in Albania)	**21.54%**	14
Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**32.31%**	21
Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**40.00%**	26
Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**6.15%**	4
Total		**65**

Benefit to the greater community of Albanian Americans is expected, as this study will introduce the small ethnic community to the larger sociological and historical community. Benefit to the sociological community is expected as this study focuses on a lesser-known ethnic group, with participants immigrating in the late 20th century. Benefits to the historical community include original research on a lesser-known ethnic group. The study will also draw comparisons between the Albanian-American community's origins in the Greater Boston area and the ethnic group's present state, over a century after its founding.

Though Albanian Americans constitute a small percentage of America's population, scholars Stephanie Schwander-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer and others are convinced that Albanians display a unique dedication to their religion, ethnic customs,

and ethnic identity.[80] Historian Joseph J. Roucek explains in *One America* that "Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Albanian story was their growing recognition, on their arrival here, that they belonged to a national community with a claim to its own rights and dignity in the world. As a result, their national consciousness was greatly intensified."[81] Additionally, Valbona Sulemani believes that this Orthodox Albanian American community in Greater Boston resisted assimilation in the United States. She explains that the Albanians have been able to preserve their traditions and customs through national and local cultural, political, and religious organizations. This "communal identity" of the Albanian Americans is unique in Sulemani's eyes, and is fostered by these organizations, as well as the continued strength of the Albanian Orthodox Church.[82]

In the early 1980s Nagi categorized this group as Cultural Pluralists, i.e., immigrants who retain their ethnicity while immersing themselves in the host culture. While some ethnic minorities accept "the eventual demise of their ethnic group and its identity" the first two generations of this community, according to Nagi, as of 1982, had not. This conclusion is shocking, particularly as neither Nagi's First-Generation participants nor their descendants experienced "cultural transfusions from waves of newly arriving Albanian immigrants."[83]

Many of the participants in this study belong to generations and age cohorts represented in Nagi's 1982 study. As the past three decades have seen changes in this

[80] Schwander-Sievers and Fischer, 185.

[81] Roucek, 233.

[82] Sulemani, 35-37.

[83] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 6.

subset of the Albanian-American community and the community at large, the history of the Albanian-American community in the Greater Boston area provides necessary context to interpret the modes of assimilation adopted by members of the community today, and compare these modes of assimilation to the ethnic, national, and religious attachments and degrees of assimilation of Nagi's population. To do this, basic Albanian history as well as immigration history will be provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

A HISTORY OF ALBANIAN AMERICANS

Each generation of Albanian Americans has a unique makeup, influenced by and in spite of the changing landscape of America as well as the old country. Albania, a small country along the western coast of the Balkan Peninsula, comprises an area of 11,100 square miles, an area slightly larger than that of Massachusetts.[84] Most historians assert that the Albanians, who refer to themselves as *Shqiptars*, are descendants of the ancient Illyrians, an Indo-European tribe that inhabited the western part of the Balkan Peninsula.[85] Linguistic evidence supports this, according to the scholarship done by Albanian professor Eqrem Cabej. In the mid-twentieth century Cabej concluded that the Albanian language is an Indo-European language with its own distinct branch. Cabej further theorized that because no contemporary languages have linguistic ties to Albanian, they are the true descendants of the Illyrians.[86] Though the *Shqiptars* settled along the Balkan Peninsula as early as the Copper Age, the Albanian diaspora extended to Turkey, Greece, Italy, Serbia, and other Mediterranean lands throughout the ancient early medieval period.[87]

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[84] Ramadan Marmullaku, *Albania and the Albanians* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1975), 3.

[85] Jacques, 7-11; Marmullaku, *Albania and the Albanians*, 5-6.

[86] Jacques, 34-35.

[87] Small hilltop villages have housed Albanians since the Neolithic Age, evidenced by their ancient cave paintings of vessels on the sea. Fishing became increasingly popular through the ages, with

For the post-classical *Shqiptars* invasion by the Goths and Slavs, conquest by the Romans, Byzantines, and Normans, and even a Bulgarian Period of rule, comprise their people's early medieval history.[88] When the great schism of eastern and western Christianity occurred in 1054, Albania was divided between Roman rule to the north and Byzantine rule to the south. Religious divisions among Christians in the country still mirror this split today, with most northern Albanians practicing Catholicism and southern Albanians practicing Orthodoxy.[89]

Skanderbeg, a national hero for the Albanians and crucial figure of their history and mythology, fought off Turkish invasion until 1468, when a fever took his life. His valiant fight served as a rallying point for the unique "Albanianism" of the country, a term coined to denote Albanian pride.[90] During the following centuries the Ottoman Empire ruled over Albania, endorsing conversion to Islam. The Albanians saw this as an opportunity to gain political equality; as Robert Tochka assert, "all nationalities could rise to high posts in government, provided they [convert]." Economic motive also fueled these conversions, for Muslims paid lower taxes. Ambitious Albanians benefitted greatly from conversion to Islam, with eleven of the forty-nine Grand Viziers from 1453 to 1623

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recovered fishhooks, fishing nets, and needles dating back to the Copper Age. Jacques, 7-11; Van Christo, "Albania and the Albanians," http://frosina.org/albania-and-the-albanians/ (accessed March 2014).

[88] Jacques, 126, 146-149, 151, 156, 160-161; Marmullaku, 7.

[89] Jacques, 159, 193, 213.

[90] Albanianism is a term used frequently by Albanians in literature about the country's history and to this day by Albanian Americans and Albanian immigrants to America. In addition to signifying Albanian nationalism, this term also exemplifies religious tolerance among ethnically Albanian peoples. For example, Albanian Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and Roman Catholics intermarry at a high frequency because ethnic pride overshadows these religious differences. "Albanianism" is also interpreted as "religious indifference." Jacques, 178-179; Scholar Ramadan Marmullaku argues that this "religious indifference" (sometimes referred to as Crypto-Christianity) allowed personal spirituality to surmount the numerous changes in religion that individuals made under Ottoman rule, and later in Enver Hoxha's atheist state. Marmullaku, 12-15.

were Albanian, as were the five Koprula Viziers from 1656 to 1710.[91] Rule of the Ottoman Empire transformed Albania to a region, which, statistically, was predominantly Muslim by 1912.[92]

Despite successful conversions to Islam and outlets of political power in the Ottoman Empire, discontent brewed in the nineteenth century among those who yearned for freedom from external influence or interference. The Albanian resistance, largely overlooked in favor of other nationalistic movements in nineteenth century Europe, included not only grass-roots revolt against unfair Turkish systems, but a move to unite the people. As Ramadan Marmullaku explains, this movement advocated the "teaching and use of the Albanian language."[93] Church officials of various faiths were instrumental in the promotion of Albanian texts; Albanian-Orthodox Naum Veqilharxhi issued *An Albanian Encyclical* in 1846, which urged Albanians to "awaken and bring to light their own mother tongue so as to enter the mainstream of civilized nations."[94] In 1855 Franciscan fathers opened the Illyricum, an Albanian Catholic school in Shkodra specializing in the humanities. Not all Albanians fought in the resistance, however. Others sought financial gains abroad, in America.

In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, Albanians were plagued not only by conflicts over the fight for political independence, but economic stagnancy. About 90% of these Albanians in this period survived as subsistence farmers on small,

[91] Tochka, 5; Marmullaku, 15-17.

[92] By the early twentieth century, Albania was 70% Muslim. Jacques, 213.

[93] Marmullaku, 22.

[94] Jacques, 283.

remote hilltop villages, with limited education and technology.[95] These inadequacies continued as late as the 1930s, when Albanian farmers still used archaic agricultural tools, such as wooden plows. In 1938, only 36% of school-age children were receiving any type of education.[96] Though Albanians worked on the farm from dawn to dusk daily, payment for labor was never given in cash because, as First-Generation, first-cohort Fan S. Noli recalled from his childhood, "no farmer in the village[s], however prosperous, ever had any real money."[97] Other professions included: tanners, innkeepers, furriers, merchants, and shopkeepers, and hunting supplemented the Albanians' food supply.[98]

According to one Albanian American, and various historians, these humble beginnings inspired the first Albanians to emigrate to the United States to work hard in America.[99] According to the Federal Writers Project, the first Albanian documented to arrive on United States soil did so in 1876, but left for "the Argentine" soon after. In 1886 Albanian immigrant Nicholas Christopher settled in Massachusetts, working sporadically but traveling back to Albania numerous times to recruit friends and family to settle in America. He told them of the United States' riches and availability of work; at this time jobs for unskilled workers were plentiful in New England's factories. The number of Albanians grew slowly, at first, with only 42 living in Massachusetts by the turn of the century, all of which hailed from Nicholas Christopher's village of Katundi.

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[95] Jacques, 7-11.

[96] Federal Research Division, 31; Gregory Pano, "The Interaction of Religion and Albanian Nationalism" (1977), 10.

[97] Fan S. Noli, comp. *Fiftieth Anniversary Book of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America: 1908-1958* (Boston: Albanian Orthodox Church in America, 1960), 41.

[98] Jacques, 7-11.

[99] Federal Writers Project, 4-6, 21.

The First-Generation Albanian immigrants, of the first age cohort, were only likely to cross the Atlantic with strong contacts already established in the United States.[100]

Early histories of the initial community explain that, surprisingly, most Albanian immigrants of the first age cohorts did not see themselves as future Albanian Americans; most intended to return home after making enough money.[101] One of these immigrants explained why, "How the American people live, why they act and think as they do—these problems are not my problems. I cannot adopt their way of life, for I have my own, and I prefer my own. My body may be in America but my heart and soul are in the land of my birth."[102] For the majority of these immigrants the motive for coming to America was to gather capital that could be sent back to family in Albania, and eventually return.[103]

As Albanians in the old country were farmers, tanners, innkeepers, furriers, merchants, and shopkeepers, these first-cohort, First-Generation immigrants—the ones who arrived between 1886 and 1920—had deficient education in the English language and capitalist business practices.[104] Thus, most of these single males joined the unskilled labor force. First-Generation males (of the first age cohorts) were employed in large part by a shoe factory on Atlantic Ave in Boston, a shoe factory near the city's South Station, a wood factory and leather factory on Summer St., American Can Company on A St. in

[100] "The Argentine" ostensibly refers to Argentina, though the source does not offer further clarification. Federal Writers Project, 4-6, 21.

[101] Ibid., 21, 32.

[102] Ibid., 32.

[103] Ibid., 21.

[104] The Albanians who immigrated were subsistence farmers who lived in remote mountain villages. Jacques, 7-11; Federal Research Division, 31; Pano, "The Interaction of Religion and Albanian Nationalism," 10.

South Boston, and various hotels in as cooks, waiters, and bellhops.[105] One young man, Leo Sexeny, was lucky enough to work in a bread factory in Boston, learning the manufacturing business well enough to start his own company years later.[106]

The first cohort of First-Generation Albanian Americans lived in tenement dwellings named *konaks*, located predominantly in the poorer South and West ends of Boston.[107] Similar to other immigrants of the time, these living conditions were humble at best; 10-15 single, young men would share a small flat. However, these surroundings were often an improvement on the rustic living of Albania. A tight living space was also endured, for "To work as much as we could, to spend as little, and to send the rest back to Albania was our holy trinity."[108] The men did not have much in the way of entertainment and, in the evenings, "played cards or dominoes together and talked interminably about the old country." Once settled in America, these First-Generation Albanian Americans created a small but unique community for themselves, where Albanian culture blossomed.[109]

A leader in this Albanian renaissance was Sotir Petsi, a prominent member of the First Generation's first age cohort. Petsi also conducted the first unofficial census of Albanian Americans living in Massachusetts. His findings calculated 700 Albanian Americans in Boston, 400 in Worcester and Southbridge, and 200 in Natick. Conversely,

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[105] Tochka, 25-26.

[106] Helen Tasho, interview by author, November, 22, 2012.

[107] Tochka, 21.

[108] Federal Writers Project, 21, 90.

[109] Jacques, 288.

the Federal Census of 1910 listed just over 625 Albanians in all of Massachusetts.[110] Tochka accounts for this disagreement because some Albanians had migrated to other foreign or domestic lands before coming to Boston.[111] Despite the discrepancy, both Petsi's research and the federal census reveal a great increase in the number of Albanian-American immigrants from the turn of the century—at least 600 immigrants in 10 years.

New and more Albanian immigrants who joined this tightly-knit community catalyzed a growth in Albanian nationalism among the Albanian Americans of Boston.[112] Joseph S. Roucek in "One America" interprets this realization as follows, "Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Albanian story was their growing recognition, on their arrival here, that they belonged to a national community with a claim to its own rights and dignity in the world. As a result, their national consciousness was greatly intensified."[113] The more time First-Generation Albanian Americans spent in the new world and developed their small community, the more opportunity they had to freely explore their language, heritage, and customs. According to Roucek, this was an opportunity that these Albanians were not afforded in the "old country," for Albania had not yet gained independence.

Albanian-American immigrants also yearned for a safe way to invest their new earnings; one of the first business enterprises attempted was an Albanian-American newspaper started on June 6, 1906 by pioneer Sotir Petsi. Print served to connect

[110] Federal Writers Project, 4.

[111] Tochka, 10; The Albanian community also accounted for the inconsistency because "when they had first set foot on American soil, their national identity had not even been recognized by the immigration officials," as explained by the Federal Writer's Project. Federal Writers Project, 64.

[112] Federal Writers Project, 21, 32.

[113] Jacques, 288; Roucek, vii, 82-83.

Albanian Americans in Boston, as well as the Greater Boston area once migration to the suburbs began. His periodical was named *Kombi* (The Nation) and, sadly, it did not survive for long. Monthly payments on Petsi's foot-powered printing press were expensive and at the turn of the century readers were scarce. According to Tochka's research, the major failing of *Kombi* at this time was that "most of the Albanian immigrants could not read Albanian."[114] As the Albanian language was previously forbidden in Albanian schools, it was solely a spoken language for many in this first cohort of First-Generation Albanian Americans.[115]

According to Dennis Nagi, the periodical *Dielli* (The Sun), beginning as a weekly publication in 1909, was more successful than its predecessor *Kombi*. Nagi argues the paper's success was due to articles printed in Albanian as well as English. By June 6, 1916, *Dielli* was a daily publication. During the early twentieth century it served both Boston's Albanian population and circulated throughout the smaller Albanian communities elsewhere in America.[116] At this time, no metropolis other than Boston had an Albanian newspaper in print.[117] *Dielli* is still popular in the twenty-first century, having printed a special edition in 2012 to mark the 100 Year Anniversary of Albanian Independence.[118]

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[114] Tochka, 10.

[115] Dennis Kazar Nagi, "A Definitive History of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America," Submitted February 15, 2006, 102-103; Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book*, 101-103, 127-128.

[116] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 9.

[117] Pano, "The Interaction of Religion and Albanian Nationalism," 110.

[118] "The Sun: Albanian American Newspaper Devoted to the Intellectual and Cultural Advancement of the Albanians in America," 2012. http://gazetadielli.com (accessed October 20, 2012).

The Federal Writers Project insists that involvement in the world of journalism in the early 20th century gave Albanians a political voice that had been lacking for centuries in the old country.[119] The mission of *Dielli* was multi-faceted, focusing on political, religious, social, and cultural issues of America and Albania. A popular topic at its founding was the push for Albanian independence from the Turkish government. *Dielli* advocated for definition of Albanian geographical boundaries, freedom of religion, press, schooling, and language for the Albanian people, and development of agriculture and infrastructure.[120]

According to Noli, another contributing factor to the long-time success of *Dielli* is its connection to Federation *Vatra* (the Hearth), a pan-Albanian organization begun in 1912 by Fan S. Noli, the first priest of the Albanian-American church.[121] Fan S. Noli brought his passion for Albania from his humble beginnings to America, recalling a lesson from Uncle Tassi in his autobiography,

> Whenever you have to make a decision you must not ask yourself: 'What would Napoleon do in that case?'. . . Remember that Napoleon was a Frenchman, and would do whatever would help France and the French people. You must ask yourself: 'What would Scanderbeg do?' Because he was an Albanian and would do whatever would help Albania and the Albanian people.[122]

[119] Federal Writers Project, 47.

[120] Ibid., 47.

[121] Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book*, 52-55, 112.

[122] Ibid., 52-55.

It is this foundation that Fan Noli brought with him to the new world. Thus, the Boston headquarters of Federation *Vatra* acted as the site of a government in exile during World War I when foreign rulers occupied Albania.[123]

The formation of the Albanian Orthodox Church under Fan Noli in 1908 also acted to catalyze Albanian nationalism among the first cohort of First-Generation Albanian Americans in early twenty-first century.[124] Fan Noli preached "to both Moslem and Christian listeners," about the trials their kinsmen were facing in the old country. Many Young Turks agreed with the Orthodox Albanians that an uprising was necessary in order for liberation to occur; Fan Noli agreed to organize various church members and travel to Sofia, Albania in 1908. The uprising was effective and the Turkish government abolished restrictions on Albanian language schools, cultural clubs, Albanian newspapers and books. Albanian skeptics were wary of this sudden compliance, referring to an ancient Albanian maxim, "The wolf changes his hair but not his habits."[125]

National liberation for Albania was gained formally in 1912 and a provisional government was recognized one month later. Additionally, official geographical boundaries were secured in December of 1913.[126] Unfortunately, this independence was anticlimactic and short-lived, as World War I brought political turmoil to the nation once again. The Treaty of London signed in April of 1915 promised Albania, in the form of a protectorate, as payment to Italy, should they join the war effort against Austria-Hungary. After World War I, Albanian chieftain Ahmed Bey Zogu formed the Government Party,

[123] Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book*, 112.

[124] Ibid., 108.

[125] Federal Writers Project, 44-45.

[126] Marmullaku, 28-30; Jacques, 335-339; Federal Writers Project, 50-53.

gaining political power through the 1920s and cajoling Albanian parliament to declare him King Zog in 1928, effectively liquidating the parliament.[127]

Through the 1930s Fan S. Noli and other Albanian Americans formed a resistance against Zog, hoping instead for Albanians to implement a western-style constitutional government.[128] However, threatened by Italian colonization, King Zog and his family fled to London in 1939, leaving the Albanian parliament to determine the country's fate. Italian occupation of Albania began soon after, as parliament voted for unification with Italy; Victor Emmanuel III took the Albanian crown until invasion by the Axis powers stirred the pot once again. Italians, Germans, and guerilla nationalists fought for the nation until withdrawal of German forces in 1944.[129] During this political shift, 72.8% of the population was Muslim, 17.1% Albanian Orthodox, and 10.1% Roman Catholic.[130]

While Albania struggled for political stability through the 1920s and 1930s, the landscape of the Albanian-American community in Greater Boston was prospering. Many First-Generation immigrants began the path to citizenship. Prior to 1920 only 6% took the Oath of Citizenship, but by 1930 28% had done so.[131] For the first three decades of the twentieth century, males had traveled freely, transporting money and goods to their families in Albania; some men stayed only for a few years and returned home with their earnings. Now, more and more males determined to establish their own businesses and belong to their own Albanian church. As members of the First Generation adopted this

[127] Marmullaku, 30-37; Jacques, 361, 377-381.

[128] Jacques, 381-387.

[129] Ibid., 404-415.

[130] Ibid., 447.

[131] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 70.

mindset, Albanian men recognized that their life in America was missing an indispensable component: Albanian women.[132] The second age cohort of First-Generation Albanian Americans began immigrating to the United States in 1920, which forever altered the demographic of the community.[133] For the first time, Albanian women were settling in America in larger numbers than males.[134]

Leo Sexeny, who immigrated in 1909 at the age of fifteen, felt the need to marry someone from his hometown, Dardhe. Helen Tasho recalls, "[Leo] went back in 1929 married my mom and came back here in April of 1930."[135] Other immigrant bachelors were also returning to America to start their family, a process that entailed new living arrangements. The *konak* of the first age cohort was abandoned as prosperous married men moved with their families to West Roxbury, Hyde Park, Jamaica Plain, Brighton, and Somerville.[136] The Sexeny family was one of many that moved to nearby Somerville, having three children that grew up in an Albanian-concentrated environment.[137]

Also beginning in the 1920s many Albanian Americans had found an ideal outlet for their newfound savings—shop-keeping.[138] The years spent in factories and

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[132] Prior to 1920 the former Albanian Ambassador Fiak Konitza estimated that for the existing 30,000 Albanian Americans, only 1,000 were women. Roucek, 236.

[133] This wave of immigration added members to the First Generation, these new immigrants being of the same age group as their male predecessors. While some Albanian-American men traveled to Albania to marry their wives, other males in America sent for their wives. Federal Writers Project, 105.

[134] Federal Writers Project, 68.

[135] Helen Tasho, interview by author, November, 22, 2012.

[136] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 69-70.

[137] Helen Tasho, interview by author, November, 22, 2012.

[138] Tochka, 28; Federal Writers Project, 93.

hospitality provided outlets to not only learn the English language, but also to learn the nuances of American capitalism. This practical education combined with years of savings afforded Albanians the opportunity to invest in businesses of their own. The most common businesses to start were grocery and fruit stores, with cafes also being a popular enterprise. One esteemed café was *Kafene Vatra* (Hearth Coffeehouse); the popular *Hotel Skenderbeu* (Hotel Skanderbeg) also began during this wave of opening businesses.[139] Leo Sexeny had left behind the bread factory to open his own ice cream manufacturing business. [140] By 1925 the first and second cohort Albanian Americans of Greater Boston could claim ownership of over 300 grocery and fruit stores.[141]

St. George Albanian Orthodox Cathedral in South Boston grew along with the Albanian community of Greater Boston, throughout the 20th century. As Nagi writes, "Albanian-American life centered upon religious institutions. For Albanians, religion and ethnic identity have traditionally been intertwined."[142] St. George's in Boston was full of parishioners every Sunday; almost as if the Divine Liturgy[143] was a social gathering for the Albanian community. A volunteer church choir and Sunday school were present by 1950. There were also annual dances, dinners, luncheons, and bazaars organized by the church, particularly in the years following World War II. Noli adds that many of these efforts aimed at keeping the younger generations invested in the church,

[139] Thernstrom, *Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups, s.v.* "Albanians"; Federal Writers Project, 93.

[140] Helen Tasho, interview by author, November, 22, 2012..

[141] Federal Writers Project, 93.

[142] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 67.

[143] Divine Liturgy refers to the weekly church service held at St. George Cathedral on Sunday. "Schedule of Services," St. George Cathedral Albanian Orthodox Church in America, last modified March 2015, http://www.saintgeorgecathedral.com/services.html (accessed August 15, 2015).

particularly those who no longer spoke or understood the Albanian language.[144] Helen Tasho recalls that even evening dances were a family event, which crippled her teenage plans to dance with a boy that her father disliked.[145] This community life of the church provided a comfortable venue for First-Generation Albanian Americans and their children, the first age cohort of the Second Generation.[146]

At least 2,040 Albanian immigrants entered the country between 1931-1941, expanding the second cohort of First-Generation Albanian Americans.[147] With the total number of Albanian Americans in the Greater Boston area surpassing 8,000, the church could hardly accommodate this growth.[148] In 1949 St. George acquired a grand cathedral on East Broadway Street in South Boston; this building still serves as the headquarters of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America.[149] The Daughters of St. George, an auxiliary club founded in 1935, has raised thousands of dollars for renovation projects within the church since its inception.[150]

At this time Fan S. Noli saw it essential to educate the clergy in the English language, particularly for the youth. The Albanian American Student Trust Fund began in 1947, awarding scholarships to deserving youth of the Second and Third Generation.

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[144] Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book*, 127, 147-149; Federal Writers Project, 115-118.

[145] Helen Tasho, interview by author, November, 22, 2012.

[146] These children would grow up to be the first age cohort of the Second Generation, studied both by Dennis Nagi and myself.

[147] Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Report, "Table 13" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), 62-64.

[148] Christo, Frosina.org.

[149] Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book*, 149.

[150] Ibid., 149-152.

In the first thirteen years of existence the fund financed the education of four Albanian Americans.[151] Fan S. Noli's 1949 Orthodox Prayer Book is a compilation of Eastern Orthodox Services intended to "help the younger generations of the church." Noli argued that knowledge of English served two purposes for the Albanian church, both enhancing understanding of the language for those with first-generation parents, and keeping youth interested in the church.[152]

By the mid-twentieth century Greater Boston was no longer the only Albanian-American community in the United States.[153] New churches had grown in Natick, Worcester, and Southbridge, Massachusetts. Churches also formed in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Albany, New York, Jamestown, and Rochester, New York, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; these parishes had humble beginnings in the early twentieth century and secured permanent residences after the second phase of Albanian immigration.[154] The Church of St. Thomas in Detroit was founded in 1929 and the Church of St. Premte in Cleveland was formed in 1938. Within ten years of their founding all of these churches had their own auxiliary club of ladies, church choir, and Sunday school. This Sunday school emerged in 1923 and grew to one hundred and fifty pupils by 1958.[155] Around this time some clergy began use of the English language in the Divine Liturgy. Prayer

[151] Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book*, 25-27.

[152] Fan S. Noli, comp. *Orthodox Prayer Book* (Boston: Albanian Orthodox Church in America, 1949), preface.

[153] Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book*, 22-25.

[154] Ibid., 22-25.

[155] Ibid., 152.

books were also translated into English for use of the younger generations, which Fan Noli attributes to an attempted "Americanization of the Church."[156]

As the Albanian diaspora grew in America, mid-century Albania would once again see a shift in their nation's leadership. In Paris, a student named Enver Hoxha worked to publish a communist newspaper with other like-minded Albanians such as Ali Kelmendi.[157] Upon returning to Albania during World War II, Hoxha formed the, then modest, Albanian Communist Party. Making little progress, Hoxha's supporters joined the larger, pre-existent party the National Liberation Movement (later called the National Liberation Front). By January of 1944 the National Liberation Front gained control of southern Albania, establishing a congress in Permet. At this time Hoxha emerged as chairman of the council's executive committee and the National Liberation Army's supreme commander.[158]

By October of 1944 Enver Hoxha established a Stalinist state in Albania, with himself as the First Secretary of this People's Republic of Albania.[159] During the years immediately following World War II, political enemies of the state were exiled or executed by Hoxha's government. Many political refugees fled Albania for Greece, Italy, and, eventually, America before Hoxha restricted emigration from the country altogether. To leave Albania was considered an act of treason punishable by long-term imprisonment or death. To impede Albanian citizens from leaving the country, a barbed

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[156] Nagi, "A Definitive History of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America," 83; Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book*, 127.

[157] Marmullaku, 67-68.

[158] Ibid., 53-59; Jacques, 423-424.

[159] Federal Research Division, 30-34.

wire high voltage fence was erected across the land border from Greece to Yugoslavia. However, many anti-communist Albanians took their chances, escaping for America and other destinations in the years between 1945-1946. [160]

Hoxha's communist agenda of this new government also limited religious rights as outlined previously by the nationally recognized common law, written officially in 1933 as the Canon of Lekë Dukagjini.[161] This earlier code originated from centuries of Albanian tribal society, where legal and moral punishments surmounted the particulars of Islam, Orthodoxy, and Catholicism. However, Enver Hoxha agreed with Lenin and Marx that "because religion and communism are incompatible in theory as well as in practice, we must fight religion."[162] The Agrarian Reform Law of 1945 surreptitiously robbed religious bodies of their land estates and the Anti-Fascist Congress of Albanian Educators imposed a national secular education on the Albanian peoples. The government continued to employ harsh measures of control over religious expression, the most severe being the imprisonment and execution of religious leaders from all faiths.[163] Eventually, in 1967, Enver Hoxha introduced state-sponsored atheism where religious names were outlawed and mosques, churches, monasteries, and convents were either burned down or converted into nationalistic museums.[164]

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[160] Jacques, 435-439, 450-455, 538; Vickers, 163. These Albanian Americans are not documented in immigration records and, thus, not present in my study of the Albanian-American community.

[161] Marmullaku, 85.

[162] Jacques, 447.

[163] Ibid., 448-451.

[164] Ibid., 488.

In the 1950s and 1960s the new Albanian government also implemented a centrally planned economy on Stalin's model. Industries were nationalized, foreign and domestic trade regulated, and all land sales and transfers were outlawed.[165] In 1955 there was a forced collectivization of farmland, drastically improving Albania's agricultural output. Prior to this redirection, private farms produced about 87% of Albania's overall product; by 1960 the same percentage was the result of collective and state farms. Education also soared as early as the 1950s. The number of teachers, students, and schools doubled between 1945 and 1950 and there was also a sharp increase in literacy among Albanians. The Enver Hoxha University at Tirane was established in 1957 and scholarships were provided from the Soviet Union to successful Albanian scholars.[166]

According to scholar Edwin Jacques, Enver Hoxha's death on April 11, 1985, let loose a broad campaign for freedom in Albania.[167] With Ramiz Alia at the head of the still communist country, Albania was now opened to foreign trade. The Albanian people were given additional freedoms in 1990, such as a more liberal criminal code, national court reform, and the re-opening of mosques and churches. Perhaps most significant was lifting of the restriction to travel abroad, which had been in place during the majority of Hoxha's rule. Even as late as June 1990, flight from the country was considered, "not as treason, but illegal border crossing." The restriction on emigration from Albania was officially lifted on July 2, 1990.[168] Unfortunately, these rapid changes, along with a draught, hurt the economy. As unemployment rose students protested; others left the

[165] Jacques, 536-546. Marmullaku, 78-80.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Jacques, 574-576.

[168] Ibid., 645-647, 651-659.

country altogether.[169] At least 5,000 Albanians had crossed the mountains into Greece by the end of 1990. As more changes were made even more Albanians left the country, some seeking refuge in Italy.[170]

Since 1990 Albania has restored diplomatic relations with the United States and other western powers, joining the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Council of Europe, World Trade Organization, and is one of the founding members of the Union for the Mediterranean. The Albanian Orthodox Church also underwent a renewal beginning in 1991, where 83 churches were rebuilt, 5 monasteries restored, and 140 churches repaired.[171] Additionally, Albania is now a parliamentary republic, with their first democratically elected president, Sali Berisha, elected in 1992. An armed uprising in 1997 inspired yet another exodus of First-Generation participants to Greece, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and North America.[172]

Albania has held candidacy for accession to the European Union since 2003, and the nation formally applied for membership on April 28, 2009.[173] In 2014, with a

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[169] Federal Research Division, 16.

[170] Carletto et al, "Gender and Migration from Albania," 936.

[171] Arthur Liolin, "Strength in Numbers: The Renewal of the Albanian Orthodox Church," *Road to Emmaus* 5, no. 1, (Winter 2004), 59-60.

[172] Carletto et al, "Gender and Migration from Albania," *Demography* 47, no. 4 (November 2012), 937-940. According to a study done in Italy by Ankica Kosic and Anna Triandafyllidou, many Albanians ascribed to the belief that immigration to Canada or the United States was easier from Italy, rather than Albania. Thus, upon entrance to America, these immigrants may be counted as Italian or Greek immigrants, as opposed to Albanian immigrants. Kosic and Triandafyllidou, 1003.

[173] "Council conclusions on Albania," *The Council of the European Union*, General Affairs Council Meeting (Luxembourg, 24 June 2014).

population approaching 3 million, Albania is an independent republic with membership in the UN, NATO and other international organizations. Under rule of current President Bujar Nishani, Albania has seen the country progress even further, becoming an official candidate to join the European Union on June 24, 2014. The council urges Albania, however, to intensify its efforts to stop corruption within the nation, particularly organized crime, the use of fraudulent documents, human trafficking, and drug cultivation. Though Albania has come a long way from its isolationist past, it is still working to become a modern democratic nation.[174]

As for the Albanian-American community, it has continued to grow and change in the twenty-first century. Valbona Sulemani believes that organizations such as the Albanian-American National Organization, MASS BESA, the Albanian-American Civic League, and the Albanian Orthodox Church have afforded Albanian Americans the opportunity to preserve their traditions and customs.[175] Due to lack of immigration from Albania in the latter half of the twentieth century, many second and third generation Albanian Americans no longer speak or understand Albanian. Even some clergy prefer use of the English language.[176] Though scholars like Nagi and Sulemani see the Albanian Americans as maintaining a distinct "communal identity,"[177] further analysis of the community in the twenty-first century is necessary to determine ethnic, national, and religious attachments and degrees of assimilation of the contemporary population. This

[174] "Council conclusions on Albania," *The Council of the European Union*, General Affairs Council Meeting (Luxembourg, 24 June 2014).

[175] Sulemani, 35-37.

[176] Nagi, "A Definitive History of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America," 83.

[177] Sulemani, 35-37.

analysis is also necessary to compare contemporary Albanian Americans in the Albanian Orthodox community of Greater Boston to Nagi's population of 1982.

CHAPTER 3

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA ON CONTEMPORARY ALBANIAN AMERICANS OF GREATER BOSTON: FIRST GENERATION

Chapters 3-5 present analysis of survey data to determine which mode of assimilation best describes the First Generation of this largely Orthodox community of contemporary Albanian Americans in Greater Boston, and compare today's community to Nagi's population of the 1980s. These three chapters are organized across the independent variable of generation. Additionally, conclusions regarding models of assimilation and comparison of ethnic, national, and religious attachments and degrees of assimilation of today's population to those of Nagi's population from thirty years ago will be found in Chapter 6.

This chapter will analyze survey and interview responses of the First-Generation participants, sorting by cultural, religious, and national ethnicity. These three categories will be analyzed in terms of ethnicity scale score, a measurement tool also used by Dennis Nagi, to determine participant relationship to ethnic continuity across the independent variable of generation. A lower ethnicity scale score conveys stronger ethnic continuity and a higher number conveys minimal ethnic continuity. In addition to presentation of the survey data, relevant interview remarks are included to bring more depth to analysis of the ethnicity scale score, allowing for a more clear understanding of

modes of assimilation among participants. Tables that correspond to data discussed in this chapter are found in Appendix E.

Each Likert item is a statement expressing a positive relationship of the participant to his or her cultural, religious, or national ethnicity and each potential response is assigned a number value (Strongly Agree=1, Agree=2, Neutral=3, Disagree=4, Strongly Disagree=5). Participant responses are then averaged to determine ethnicity scale score. As responding strongly agree to a statement about cultural, religious, or national ethnicity will scale 1 and responding agree will scale 2, the lower the mean average the more participants responded in agreement with the Likert items and, thus, in accordance with cultural, religious, or national ethnicity. Similarly, an ethnicity scale score of 5 (the highest possible score) would show no ties to cultural, religious, or national ethnicity.

The overall mean ethnicity scale score among First-Generation participants is 1.97, the second lowest of all generational groupings. The mean ethnicity scale score for First-Generation cultural ethnicity is 1.69, lower than the generations' scores for both religious and national ethnicity. The highest mean ethnicity scale score for First-Generation participants is 2.15, for religious ethnicity, followed by a score of 2.08 for national ethnicity.[178]

[178] This data is shown in Table XLVII.

The First Generation

Of the 67 survey participants, fourteen (21.54%) were from the First Generation. Additionally, of the nineteen interviewees, six (31.57%) were First-Generation participants.[179] Unlike in Nagi's study, in which the First Generation was of "the retired age," the First Generation in this study is middle-aged, with a mean age of 42.14.[180] Participants in this study belong to the third (2 participants), fourth (three participants), and fifth (nine participants) age cohorts of the First Generation. Though some of my third cohort participants could have participated in Nagi's study as well, participants disclosed none of this information.[181] Females comprise 35.71% of the participation from this generation, with the majority of the group (64.29%) being male. This ratio differs from the study as a whole, which had an overall majority of female respondents.[182]

Though these immigrants are more geographically dispersed throughout the Greater Boston area, have more diverse occupations, came from various regions and sub-cultures within Albania, and are, generally, less religious, none have forgotten their Albanian roots. As contemporary immigrants these Albanian Americans face numerous

[179] Two participants declined to answer this question. Results for survey participation by generation can be found in Table I.

[180] The mean age for Nagi's First-Generation informants was 65.25. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 105-106. Data for the mean age of my survey participants can be found in Table II.

[181] Anonymity ensured by the primary researcher also prevents me from discovering this information by other means than a participant volunteering the information.

[182] Table III indicates that the overall majority of respondents were female, with 37 female responses (56.92%) and 28 male responses (43.07%). These numbers differ from Nagi's study, in which 58% of the respondents were male and 42% were female. The First and Third Generations responded in about equal numbers, but Nagi had an overwhelming majority of male response among the Second-Generation participants (64.3% male and 35.7% female). Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 108-109.

challenges in keeping their ethnicity alive, but have been able to do so while appreciating the benefits they have gained in America. Where the original group of Albanian Americans planned to return to the old country, contemporary First-Generation Albanian Americans are intentionally planning their futures in America.

Cultural Ethnicity

Survey data indicates that many contemporary Albanian-American immigrants chose to settle in the Greater Boston area, in order to join the Albanian-American community. Of the First-Generation survey participants, 30.77% "strongly agreed" that "An Albanian neighborhood is a friendly place to live." An additional 30.77% "agreed" with the statement. Only one First-Generation participant "disagreed" with this statement and none "strongly disagreed."[183]

Interviewees agree that, like many of the First-Generation Albanian Americans in Nagi's study, many of the respondents in my study were lured by letters from family members to leave the homeland and settled in this region. For one fifth-cohort immigrant the New England snow, larger skyscrapers, and Boston's Logan Airport were shocking. He admits, jokingly, "I had never seen any big building and I thought we were going to live there, to be honest." Instead, in the mid-1990s, the family moved into the then-Albanian hub of South Boston. The interviewee described how St. George's Cathedral was "the epicenter of the community," where people shared experiences and helped each

[183] The remaining 30.77% selected the response "Neither agree nor disagree." This data is found in Table XXV.

other to find work. Another fifth-cohort interviewee describes settling first in New Jersey only to be dissatisfied with the lack of an Albanian community. This family moved, only one year later, to Boston.

While some First-Generation survey participants vocalize a preference to live in a tight-knit Albanian-American community, 53.85% displayed neutrality to the statement, "I feel more comfortable with Albanian people." Of the other participants, 30.77% "agreed" with the statement, and 15.38% "strongly agreed."[184] While some sought out a community of Albanian Americans, others resented the proximity to other immigrants, yearning for a more authentic "American experience," which was thought impossible, "with all these foreigners around." Similarly, one fourth-cohort immigrant who lived with an uncle upon arrival in America, honors his decision to move to Boston. This was, "other than coming to America, the second important decision."

English was a significant barrier for these First-Generation participants, an opinion expressed particularly by the fifth-cohort immigrants who had no prior knowledge of the English language, and immigrated at a young age. One interviewee recalls her first days in public school, "I remember distinctly: I sat behind this girl and she offered me a pen, I remember her saying 'pen,' but I was like, 'What's a pen?'" Two young First-Generation Albanian Americans attended public school in Dorchester that provided an ESL program for bilingual students. At the time, this area was home to many Albanian-American families. As the interviewee remembers, in one of these ESL classes, ten of sixteen students were native to Albania.

[184] Table XLIV shows this data.

Interviewees also spoke of learning English outside of the classroom, primarily by watching popular American television programs. Perhaps most difficult was acquiring knowledge of English "slang." This holds true even for those who told of their prior knowledge of the English language. One such fourth-cohort interviewee drew a connection to a popular television series, explaining, if someone had referenced *Everybody Loves Raymond,* "I would have said, 'What Raymond?'" To learn not only the words, but their cultural meaning, was most necessary to ensure effective communication. Additionally, one third-cohort Albanian American assured me that she loves her Albanian accent. The First-Generation Albanian Americans, particularly those of the third and fourth cohorts, did not hesitate to display pride in their ethnicity.

Most contemporary Albanian Americans have chosen to further their education, with 73.02% pursuing a Bachelor's degree or further.[185] This differs drastically from the education of their parents, for whom less than half completed college and only two pursued a doctoral degree.[186] Despite these academic accomplishments, however, no First-Generation interviewees discussed their collegiate experience. Even in 1982, an impressive 19.4% of the First Generation continued their education past their four years of undergraduate study.[187]

As for starting a career in America, First-Generation participants in all cohorts have demonstrated success. Data from question 20 shows that participants work in finance, business, technology/IT, and medicine in equal numbers. Others do

[185] Only one of the First-Generation survey participants did not complete a Bachelor's degree. This participant was a high school graduate of the equivalent (for example: GED). Full data for generational grouping of respondents by highest level of education is in Table VI.

[186] Data found in Table VI.

[187] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 111.

administrative work or are still completing their education.[188] Additionally, some Albanian Americans in the fifth cohort have found it necessary to detach their Albanian home life from their professional life. One admits, "Right now I am separating myself from the Albanian community." He added, confiding one twenty-something to another, "You know how life is, it's busy trying to get myself where I want to be." These First-Generation Albanian Americans have expressed sentiments different from their twentieth-century counterparts, that there is little help in the professional world from financially established Albanian Americans. Unlike their predecessors who easily found work through ethnic networks, few young immigrants have that same opportunity now.

Despite lack of ethnic networking, First-Generation participants have achieved high levels of economic success, with 53.85% self-reporting as middle class and 38.46% self-reporting as upper-middle class. Only one participant reported as working class.[189] Similarly, homeownership among First-Generation respondents is high, at 66.67%. This number is especially high as many of the fifth-age cohort are young and new to their careers; these participants may soon achieve the financial stability to purchase a home.[190]

First-Generation survey participants show that 61.54% of parents expressed a preference for the kind of person they should marry.[191] Of these parents, 75% preferred someone of the same religion, and someone with a good personality. Still, 62.5% expressed preference for someone of the same nationality. Only 25% of parents showed

[188] Data taken from question 20, to which each participant input his or her career. To ensure participant confidentiality, this data cannot be shared.

[189] Data found in Table XIII.

[190] Data found in Table XI.

[191] Data found in Table IX.

preference for their First-Generation children to marry someone of good financial standing. As for the First-Generation participants, more factors were of importance. While 84.62% preferred someone with a good personality, only 38.46% preferred someone of the same nationality and 23.08% preferred someone of the same religion. Similarly to the wishes of their parents, 23.08% preferred someone of good financial standing. Additionally, one First-Generation participant preferred someone from the same village/region in Albania. Another even specified their desires as, "Compatibility, college grad, & soul mate."[192]

When First-Generation Albanian Americans in the fifth cohort spoke of dating, marriage, and the future, responses were varied. One suggested, "It makes sense for an immigrant to marry an immigrant, because no one can understand what I had to go through unless they also had to go through it. And I think an Albanian girl would be nice too." Another bluntly identified confusion with "the dating scene" in America, "Being Albanian, you don't know how to date." One interviewee describes a desirable Albanian woman as, "a certain type of women that are very family oriented—they would sacrifice everything for their family." This sampling of interviewees parallels the choice of many of the initial Albanian American immigrants—to marry an Albanian spouse.

Intermarriage, shown to increase with each generation, is far more common in the contemporary Albanian-American community.[193] Of the First Generation in 1982 only 10.7% were married to a non-Albanian spouse, compared to the First Generation in 2014,

[192] Data found in Table X and Table XI.

[193] This data is available in Table V. Intermarriage is far more common among participants in this study than it was by the participants in Nagi's 1982 study. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 107-111.

where 44.44% are married to a non-Albanian. However, as many First-Generation interviewees of the fifth cohort are young and unmarried, it is unclear if they will impact this trend. Further study of intermarriage among First-Generation Albanian Americans of the fifth age cohort will be necessary to determine if they also marry non-Albanians at this high rate of 44.44%.

One First-Generation interviewee in the fourth cohort spoke of his marriage to a Second-Generation Albanian American. The two met through mutual Albanian-American friends and, "as they say, the rest is history." Similarly to the sentiments of some of the other First-Generation interviewees, having an Albanian American spouse is sought after. In his eyes, "You look for things that are similar and common that can bring peace to your life. Who wants to wake up in the morning and discuss things that are so different?" As part of an Albanian American couple, it is easier to make decisions as a team, with "one angle."

The rate of divorce or separation among Albanian Americans in Greater Boston has increased slightly since 1982, at 9.68%. Nagi noted in his study that the community was "very stable" due to the low 5.2% rate at which the Albanian Americans reported a divorce or separation. Furthermore, the rate of divorce or separation is significantly lower in the First Generation (with no divorces or separations reported).[194]

In terms of raising children, some First-Generation Albanian Americans encourage their children to develop their own ethnic identity, but the majority believes their children should learn to speak Albanian. An overwhelming 69.23% of First-

[194] This data is found in Table IV.

Generation survey participants strongly agree that their children should learn Albanian. The remaining respondents either agreed with the statement or showed neutrality.[195]

One interviewee departs slightly from this norm, explaining, "I would like to be able to put my children in the position to make their own decision. If they chose to learn Albanian, I would enthusiastically help them with it." Teaching the language comes with its own challenges, however, which some parents recognize. For the oldest child of many First Generation parents, Albanian was the primary language spoken at home. As more children are born into the family, however, the children have a different experience, as the siblings tend to communicate with each other in English as they grow older.

Similarly, many First-Generation Albanian Americans were more open about their children dating and marrying outside of their ethnicity. One First Generation interviewee of the fifth cohort said of her First Generation parents, "I feel like they've gotten past that [need for me to marry an Albanian]. They speak the [English] language now, and don't feel like outsiders anymore." For one young immigrant, it matters less if her future spouse is Albanian. Unlike the first-cohort immigrants who traveled home to marry Albanian wives, many of these fourth and fifth-cohort interviewees hope to find love here in America.

Some First-Generation interviewees also demonstrate how they maintain the language, customs, and foods of their people. The majority of participants "agreed" that organizations that maintain the Albanian culture are important, that we need more centers where our young people can learn about Albanian culture, and that Albanian Americans

[195] Data for this Likert item is available in Table XXVI.

should be willing to give money to preserve the Albanian tradition.[196] Survey participants were not particularly passionate about maintaining Albanian dances, however, with a neutral response of 46.15%.[197] Almost all First-Generation interviewees expressed a love for "all the fat free Albanian food."[198] One First-Generation interviewee, of the fifth cohort, discloses that her immigrant parents still subscribe to Albanian television networks.

However, numerous participants also recognize the challenges associated with keeping ethnic customs in a mainstream society. Some face this challenge most when they leave the Albanian-American community to seek white-collar work, others whilst struggling to learn American slang, and even more in teaching the language and traditions to their school-age children.

Religious Ethnicity

According to the survey data, 85.71% of First-Generation participants identified as Albanian Orthodox when living in Albania. Despite living in Hoxha's "atheist state," only one respondent self-identified as being not religious in Albania. One additional

[196] Table XXXVI shows that 46.15% "strongly agreed" with the statement about maintaining Albanian culture, 46.15% "agreed" with this statement, and 7.69% are neutral. These same ratios appear in Table XXXIX, the statement, "We need more centers where our young people can learn about Albanian culture." Table XXXVII shows that these same ratios also apply to the statement, "We should be willing to give money to preserve the Albanian tradition."

[197] Data found in Table XXXII.

[198] This joke references the large amounts of butter, oil, and cheese used in preparation of Albanian cuisine.

participant responded as Catholic.[199] Interestingly enough, these same respondents showed different current religious affiliations as Albanian Americans, shown in Table VIII. While 92.31% of respondents still affiliate with the Albanian Orthodox religion, no participants presently identify as Catholic or not religious. Additionally, one participant now identifies as Protestant. Despite these outliers, the majority affiliates with the Albanian Orthodox church in America.

Religion holds a unique place in the lives and hearts of the First-Generation interviewees, as particularly evident in their responses to the statement "I feel more comfortable in the Albanian Orthodox Church." All but two participants "strongly agreed" or "agreed" with this statement.[200] Hearing the Albanian language at church services is also a preference for these participants. Table XII (measured on a Likert scale) demonstrates participant preference for use of the Albanian language in religious services. The First-Generation participants were divided on this issue, where only a slight majority (61.54%) "strongly agreed" or "agreed" with the statement "I prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language." Of the remainder, 23.08% "neither agreed nor disagreed" and 15.38% "disagreed."

Despite comfort in the Albanian Orthodox church, numerous First Generation Albanian Americans in the third and fourth cohorts expressed that growing up in an atheist state still impacts their current spiritual life. In a communist and atheist state citizens are taught to hold a collectivist mindset and distrust institutions. Because the church itself is an institution, First Generation Albanian Americans in these cohorts are

[199] The majority, 85.71%, identified as Albanian Orthodox.

[200] The remaining two responded, "neither agree nor disagree" and "disagree." All responses to this question, measured on a Likert scale, are found in Table XXVII.

still adjusting to religious life in America. One expands, "Here, there is no script for you, and you see that one of the decisions you have to make is feelings, and theology, and religion. So, it's a process that's still going on." This interviewee also hinted that this spiritual struggle exists for many Albanian Americans of his age cohort and generation.

Other First Generation interviewees explain the nuances of their faith. One interviewee, born the year the churches were closed, recalls only the "subdued tone" with which a family elder referred to holidays and religious events; anything more was considered treason against the state. For some, church took on a social function when they arrived in America, not knowing religion properly in Albania. For one interviewee, of the third cohort, this religious indifference is practical as, "Part of it is there was no church growing up, part of it is that as an immigrant the needs are basic, you need to get a car and it is old and will break soon, and you need a job, and you need to support your family, and the spiritual side is a bit far to see."

First-Generation participants hold divergent opinions on the necessity of having regular church attendance. While 46.15% of respondents "strongly agreed" or "agreed" that regular church attendance is important for us all, another 46.15% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with the statement.[201] Interviewees of all cohorts expressed the sentiment that attendance at church and participation in Sunday School is not popular. Even those who spent their Albanian childhood worshiping as Orthodox Christians spent less time in church upon arrival in America. Some only attend the Divine Liturgy on high holidays, such as Easter and Christmas. Other First Generation immigrants did not officially join

[201] One participant "disagreed" with the statement. Data found in Table XXXI.

St. George as members, at all, as the church is not easily accessible by car or public transportation.

Interestingly enough, most explained that this absence from the church is not for a lack of spirituality. One third-cohort interviewee explains, "I was Orthodox Christian the whole time . . . I mean, the Albanian's true religion is Albanianism." Another First Generation interviewee of the fifth cohort remembers practicing Orthodox Christianity as a child in Albania, particularly the Easter parades through the town. Despite these grandiose displays of religion in this southern Albanian village, Fieri, the interviewee clarifies, "we're Albanian first, no one really defines themselves religiously." This interviewee also explained that in Fieri, a town full of Orthodox Christians and Muslims, some children were allowed to choose their own religion.

Some First Generation participants believe in other forms of participation within the church, such as children attending Sunday School. A slim majority of 53.84% "strongly agreed" or "agreed" that Albanian Orthodox religious education is important for our children. Of the remainder, 38.46% "neither agreed nor disagreed." Only one participant "strongly disagreed" with the statement.[202] Interviewees confirmed that programs run by the church can eclipse religious services in popularity. Only one of the interviewees belonging to the fifth cohort spent some time as an altar boy at St. George Cathedral, and none regularly enrolled in Sunday School. Similarly, only one of the third-cohort interviewees enrolled her children in Sunday School.

Yet another way First-Generation participants engage with the church is through financial support. First-Generation respondents generally "agreed" that it is important to

[202] Data found in Table XXX.

contribute time, personal talents, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox Church. While 76.92% "strongly agreed" or "agreed" with this statement, 23.08% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with it.[203] Another form of financial support comes through annual membership to the organization. Most First-Generation participants also "agreed" that, even if the Albanian Orthodox Church is located far from your home, membership is necessary. While 23.08% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with this statement, only one participant "disagreed."[204]

Partly because of the clash between communist ideals and religion, and partly because of Albania's tradition toward religious tolerance, some third-cohort parents have not baptized their Albanian-American children. One interviewee describes how his family attends church about once a month, and his eldest child is beginning to ask what religion they are. Perhaps surprisingly, however, this father is not concerned. Similarly, another third-cohort Albanian American shares a lesson she learned from her father, "never believe the church or monastery or mosque is your place—you're not the right person if you're not a good person."

Despite the complexity of religious ethnicity among these First-Generation Albanian Americans the majority believe that the Albanian Orthodox religious tradition helps to strengthen family life.[205] Other First-Generation Albanian Americans recalled life in a village where Orthodox Christians and Muslims lived together in religious harmony for generations. Though overt practice of religion was forbidden under the

[203] Data found in Table XXIX.

[204] Data found in Table XXVIII.

[205] Data taken from Likert item found in Table XXXIII.

communist regime, most Albanian Americans continue to respect religious differences in America. "It is true I am not a religious person, and I combine a free spirit in mind, which means I combine the modern medicine and science with alternative natural and spiritual knowledge and heritage . . . . in our family we are not Orthodox, we are not Muslim, but it doesn't mean we don't keep the religion."

This unique spirituality, "Albanianism," permeates the lives of all but one of the First-Generation interviewees, who kept religion throughout communist rule, through the stories passed down from her grandmother. Baptized an Orthodox Christian before the churches were closed in 1964, this First Generation immigrant recalls, with fondness, her family's regular attendance at church. Their religious fervor was unmatched by those in the town, where "not too many people went to church." In addition to regular church attendance, religious stories and stories from her grandmother's life kept religion alive for this third-cohort, First-Generation Albanian American, while practicing in the secrecy of her house.

After winning the lottery, a system by which the Albanian government regulated the legal number of Albanian emigrants, this devout interviewee continued to practice religion at three Albanian Orthodox churches in the Greater Boston area. She explains that "church for me is one, and I don't want to belong in one church and forgive the other." This spirituality was passed on to her children, who attended Sunday School and served as altar boys at St. George Cathedral. For this family religious customs, such as celebrating an individual's name day,[206] also continued in America. Now, in America,

[206] A name day is celebrated on the day of the year traditionally associated with one's given name. In Albanian tradition, it is celebrated according to the Christian calendar of saints. For example, an Albanian named after St. Stephen would celebrate his name day on the Feast of St. Stephen, December 26th. This custom arose in Albania because people did not track the day of the year when a child was born.

she celebrates name days as well as birthdays, lamenting that few Albanian Americans uphold the more traditional name day.

In the words of one First-Generation Albanian American, religion is "what you have in your brain and in your heart. . . . have the feeling of being appreciative of what's given to you, and I don't know if that needs a religious symbol or the clergy cloth, but I do feel that. I am unclear on what the name is, but there is a force out there to be thankful for." Some outliers practice traditional Orthodox Christianity, attending church regularly. For the majority of these First-Generation participants, however, finding religion is an ongoing process. At large these interviewees are exploring both their personal spirituality and how their religious flexibility will impact the next generation of Albanian Americans.

National Ethnicity

Many First-Generation Albanian Americans uphold the stereotype that, "To this day [Albanians] are very proud people and very brave people." The challenge lies in distinguishing what they are more proud of: their homeland and heritage, or their decision to move to America and the resultant life they have created. When asked to self-report if they felt more Albanian, American, or something else, First-Generation replies were varied. Some affirmed America as their new nation, while others are Albanian through and through. Others held a more pragmatic stance, "I hope these things don't have to be

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Name day celebrations are equivalent to the American birthday in eating of celebratory foods, gathering of family, and gift-giving, but with the added element of religion.

tested. If being Albanian helps you some days a year, sure, and if being American helps you most days of the year, take it."

Despite being Albanians living in America, these First-Generation participants do not necessarily desire an only-Albanian acquaintance. While 30.77% "agreed" that they feel more comfortable with Albanian people, only 15.38% "strongly agreed" with the statement. The remainder "neither agreed nor disagreed" that they feel more comfortable with Albanian people.[207] Opinions differ even further on reliance on fellow Albanians. While 23.08% "strongly agreed" and 30.77% "agreed" that if you are in trouble, you can count on Albanian people to help you, 38.46% "neither agreed nor disagreed". Furthermore, one participant even "disagreed" with the statement.[208]

As for pride in the old country, many First-Generation Albanian Americans continue to express love for their homeland. One interviewee in the fifth cohort described childhood in Albania as living in "the Garden of Eden." Despite having few modern conveniences, such as running water and electricity, one interviewee expressed, "so much nostalgia for that time in my life." This interviewee adds, "My heart's Albanian, you know. No question marks with that, just laying it down." Another echoes the sentiment, "That's the Albanian way. I'm Albanian first." Other First-Generation interviewees take a more reflective stance on their national ethnicity, meditating that all individuals "should be proud of where they're from, whether it's good or bad."

Similarly, 46.15% of First Generation participants "strongly agreed" and 53.85% "agreed" that we need stronger organizations to express the views of Albanian

[207] Data found in Table XLIV.

[208] Results shown in Table XLV.

Americans.[209] Though not one participant expressed neutrality or disagreement with this statement, not all taken an active role in "promot[ing] the Albanian cause in the larger society." Few interviewees have joined Albanian-American organizations such as the Massachusetts Albanian American Society (MAAS BESA) and the National Albanian American Council (NAAC). While some get involved in the political affairs of these organizations, others join simply "to meet new Albanians."

Though a majority "strongly agreed" or "agreed" that Albanian newspapers and publications need to be continued, 23.08% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with the statement.[210] Very few First Generation interviewees subscribe to and read Albanian publications and newspapers. Though many Albanian-American interviewees are concerned with the affairs of their home country one confessed, "I do not read much in Albanian nowadays." Others respect and financially support these Albanian publications, but seek other publications as their source of news and entertainment.

While most interviewees express love for their homeland, fifth-cohort participants are quick to clarify their genuine adoration for America. For some this manifests itself in attainment of the American dream, "When you're a young kid in a developing country (we were considered 3rd world when I came here) as a little kid, when I was five, I would see the houses with the white picket fence on television and I would say I was going to get married in America. Now my dream might actually come true." Others had "a larger scale Albanian love for America," even before stepping foot in the country. For one Albanian American, America was "the Promised Land. The place where we always wanted to be."

[209] Data found in Table XXXV.

[210] Data found in Table XLIII.

Perhaps most impressive is that, for some, America "lived up to expectations with regards to personal freedom and ability to pursue goals." The initial excitement to come to the Promised Land was soon eclipsed by the reality of life in America. Some interviewees describe how the ease of assimilation made the transition smooth. One fifth-cohort interviewee remarks, "People that I know who were Albanian, a lot of them could assimilate quickly like my family." Others state it more simply, "I was very excited when I came to the U.S.—I still am." Some proudly announced that they are now U.S. Citizens. Contemporary First Generation Albanian Americans simultaneously proclaim affection for their homeland and their new country, America.

Most had difficulty self-reporting their ethnic identity in my final interview question, *Do you think of yourself as Albanian, American, or something else?* Some found it easier to label friends as "Albanian Americans," but few categorized themselves as such in so few words. Some of the fifth-cohort, First-Generation interviewees explained ethnic identity in terms of the confusion felt that, "at home you're Albanian and when you're outside you're something else. And what you should be is just yourself." Others expressed the sentiment that in America they were allowed to best express themselves as Albanian Americans. One fourth-cohort interviewee explains, "My first country is America because, you know why, I have everything here. The small Albanian dream come true is here [in America]." This interviewee also placed special emphasis on living in the Greater Boston area; that this community, in particular, is a safe haven for Albanian Americans.

Overall, America lived up to the expectations of these Albanian Americans, but only so far as this country afforded them the freedom to maintain Albanian traditions.

One third-cohort participant summarizes, “It’s a fools errand to be Italian and not say that or to be Irish and not say that . . . . And that is one of the things great that America has that it is accepted. People respect [ethnicity].” As for self-reporting, almost every First-Generation participant evaded the question. The Albanian Americans have the awareness that national ethnicity is a more complex issue. To self-identify as Albanian, American, or Albanian American would discount the layers of tradition, language, custom, religion, and pride that comprise being a First Generation Albanian American. One interviewee teased me about the simplicity of my final interview question, “I like the Albanian part, I so much love the American part, so I am wondering sometimes . . . . I have never gotten an answer and maybe there is no answer—maybe if I want to be Irish for a day can you help me?”

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA ON CONTEMPORARY ALBANIAN AMERICANS OF GREATER BOSTON: SECOND GENERATION

To determine which models of assimilation best describes the Second Generation of this select community of contemporary Albanian Americans in Greater Boston, this chapter contains survey analysis and interview responses of the Second Generation participants, sorting by cultural, religious, and national ethnicity.[211] This analysis will be based largely on ethnicity scale score, a measurement tool used by Nagi to determine participant relationship to ethnic continuity across the independent variable of generation.[212] In addition, data from the two-part questionnaire and interviewee observations will be used to determine modes of assimilation among the Second Generation participants. All data referenced in this chapter is found in tables in Appendix E.

The total ethnicity scale score for the Second Generation is higher than that of the First Generation, at 2.29. Scores are higher all around for the Second Generation, with 2.09 on cultural identity, 2.49 on national identity, and 2.29 on religious identity.

[211] In this chapter, similar to chapters 3 and 5, no conclusions will be drawn regarding models of assimilation among the Second-Generation participants, nor will comparisons to the Second-Generation participants in Nagi's 1982 study. These conclusions will be provided in Chapter 6.

[212] The ethnicity scale score is calculated according to the parameters set in Chapter 1 and the beginning of Chapter 3.

Similarly to the First Generation, cultural ethnicity holds the lowest of the ethnicity scale scores. However, unlike the First Generation, national identity has the highest ethnicity scale score. Despite these differences, the Second Generation scores are less than 7% higher than those of First Generation participants.[213]

The Second Generation

The following presents data analysis based off of 21 survey responses (32.31% of the total survey responses) and 6 interviews (31.57% of the total interviews) from Second-Generation Albanian Americans. This chapter is organized by generation, as social class was not a factor discussed by any of the interviewees. The Second Generation has the oldest mean age of 74.3 years.[214] Of this generation, 15 participants belong to the first age cohort, and 6 belong to the second age cohort.[215] In the Second Generation 57.14% of participation was female. Almost all Second-Generation participants identified as middle class or upper-middle class.[216]

These Second Generation Albanian-American participants—born between 1920-1969—are direct descendants of the first, second, and third cohorts of First-Generation

[213] Data found in Table XLVII.

[214] This differs with Nagi's Second-Generation participants, which had a mean age of 49.32. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 105-106.

[215] Data found in Table II of the Introduction.

[216] 76.19% identified as middle class, 19.05% identified as upper-middle class, and only one participant identified as working class. This information is found in Table XIII.

Albanian Americans.[217] Most Second-Generation interviewees described being inundated with the influence of their parents, both during their childhood and adult life. However, many explain that this influence was not unwelcome. Most Second-Generation participants describe feelings of adoration both for their Albanian heritage and their American nationality.

Cultural Ethnicity

Numerous Albanian-American interviewees from the Second Generation recall growing up in a home where Albanian was spoken, and a neighborhood where many Albanian families lived. Despite this, Second-Generation survey participants are not convinced that our children should learn to speak Albanian. Only 16.67% "strongly agreed" and 33.33% "agreed" with this statement.[218] Of the remainder, 38.89% of Second Generation participants "neither agreed nor disagreed." The remaining two survey participants "disagreed" with the statement altogether.[219] Despite these opinions on the continuance of the Albanian language, one first-cohort member speaks it, "Occasionally, when I don't want other people to know what I'm saying." Most Second-

[217] These Albanian Americans were predominantly Orthodox Christians hailing from the southern regions of Albania and settling mainly in the Greater Boston area. They were also Tosk Albanians. A more detailed history of this immigrant group is found in Chapter 2.

[218] This number contrasts greatly with the First-Generation responses to this statement, in which 69.23% "strongly agreed" and 15.35% "agreed." Results can be found in Table XXVI.

[219] No First-Generation participants "disagreed" with this statement.

Generation interviewees of both cohorts explained that they spoke English and Albanian at home when they were children.

Second-Generation participants also gave mixed responses to the statement, "An Albanian neighborhood is a friendlier place to live." Half of the respondents "neither agreed nor disagreed" with the statement.[220] For most interviewees, however, growing up in a predominantly Albanian neighborhood was a pleasant experience. For some, three generations of Albanian Americans lived under one roof. One recalls, "I loved growing up in that setting because the parents were good friends and it was very easy to get along, and go places, and to do things." Some felt fortunate as children, and were lucky enough to have First-Generation parents who owned lucrative factories. Attending public school, however, some branched out and made "American" friends. One interviewee of the second cohort claimed that he had no desire to have more Albanian friends, while another first-cohort individual mentioned her parent's desire for her to socialize more with Albanian Americans.

One First-Generation interviewee, of the first cohort, recalls of her childhood that Albanian was the primary language spoken at home, though English was understood and used sparingly. When asked if other Albanians lived nearby she responded, "Yes, next door, across the street, two doors down – it was like in a radius of two or three streets there had to be about eight families that were Albanian. That was what they did, they all got together and they lived near each other." This concentration of Albanians was echoed in her family's social life; she socialized with "Albanians" exclusively.

[220] While two participants "disagreed," 16.67% "strongly agreed" and 22.22% "agreed" with the statement. Second-Generation participants were less likely than First-Generation participants to agree. Results can be found in Table XXV.

Second-Generation participants are less likely than First-Generation participants to feel more comfortable with Albanian people. No Second-Generation participants "strongly agreed" with this statement and only 27.78% "agreed" with it. Of the remainder, 44.44% "neither agreed nor disagreed" and 27.78% "disagreed."[221] Some second-cohort participants grew up in multi-ethnic neighborhoods away from other Albanians. One lived in Mission Hill, then "a very Irish community," in a three-family home. The first floor was Irish, the second floor belonged to her Albanian-American parents and siblings, and the third floor her Albanian-American aunts. The participant describes this as a friendly environment in which to live. Her brothers were involved with the local Irish boys' baseball league, and even attended the Irish church. A Second Generation male from the second cohort had a similar experience growing up in Medford, "In an Irish neighborhood we had an Albanian ghetto." This interviewee recalls having over forty Albanian cousins in the Greater Boston area.

Though one second-cohort Albanian American grew up in an "American" neighborhood and enjoyed the experience, she, "felt more fortunate I was Albanian. I felt that it really had something specialer than other kids—the family dynamics, the holidays, the traditions, the culture—that my friends didn't have." She socialized with Albanian and American children equally. Family time, however, was an Albanian affair, full of "all the holidays, all the food, name days, Sunday services, fasting or Lent, yeah, everything, and a lot of superstitions you followed." Family also taught her the history of the Albanian people, from "the old times coming over on the boat, and how hard it was, and how proud they were, and how their family was very important to them." She adds,

[221] Data found in Table XLIV.

matter-of-factly, "I mean, my father grew up in a coal flat and he didn't even know he was poor."

One first-cohort female narrated the strict parenting of her First Generation parents, and labeled it as, "Absolutely a cultural thing." She continued to explain, "As for being strict, that only applied to the females. My brothers had mostly American friends." Additionally, she recalls being forbidden to join her school's cheerleading squad, play varsity sports, or date. Another first-cohort interviewee was forbidden from joining Girl Scouts. Once old enough to date, some females were expected to date only Albanian males, of whom the family approved. One first-cohort interviewee shared a family secret; if a non-Albanian boy called her on the phone her brother "would get on and pretend the call was for him!" Overall, however these Second-Generation participants displayed an appreciation of this close-knit lifestyle, one admitting, "It was wonderful. I mean, it was love, it was discipline, it was family."

Many Second-Generation Albanian Americans "agreed" that the public schools should teach more about Albania and Albanian Americans. Half of these survey participants "strongly agreed" or "agreed" with the statement, 27.75% "neither agreed nor disagreed," and 22.22% "disagreed."[222] Interviewees describe how the public schools taught nothing of Albania, "Albania wasn't even on the map as far as they're concerned." Another interviewee questioned if the Albanian Americans coming of age in the millennial generation had the opportunity to learn about Albania in school.

Far more Second-Generation participants believe that we need to know the history of the Albanian people, regardless of what is taught in public schools. The majority

[222] Data found in Table XLI.

"strongly agreed" (38.89%) or "agreed" (50%) that we need to know the history of the Albanian people. No participants "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed" with the statement, and only 11.11% "neither agreed nor disagreed."[223] Second-Generation interviewees of all cohorts describe how parents and other family members told stories of the homeland, ensuring that these Albanian Americans knew their ancestor's history. One interviewee received a thorough education from her family members from, "The language, and some history of how the Turkish people came in, and how a lot of the men had to go to Greece to get jobs," to, "their lives, growing up, what they did, how they celebrated holidays in their villages."

One Second-Generation interviewee of the second cohort attended an all female, private, Catholic school. Though she also learned nothing of Albania in her classes, there was a surprisingly large Albanian population among the students. As many of these children were children of her parents' Albanian friends, she socialized mostly with these Albanian girls. She recalls with pride that, "The Albanian kids were on the honor roll. None of us were getting in trouble and the police and teachers knew that we would do very well."

Once old enough to get a job, as early as 8th grade for some, many Second Generation Albanian Americans started working after school. One first-cohort man explains that he started out in the fruit industry because of his father, and continued in this profession until retirement. For others, it was working in an uncle's dry goods store from the age of three, which developed into life as a career CEO. This second-cohort interviewee recalls how seriously he took this work as a child, "At age seven I became the manager of the sunglass' department." He also recalls the presence of Albanian

[223] Data found in Table XL.

Americans in this line of work. From an early job at a department store to being CEO of a large cooperation, this Second-Generation male has almost always worked with at least one other Albanian American. Though Second-Generation Albanian Americans did not always work directly with other Albanian Americans, it was not unusual for males to use fellow Albanian-American businessmen as references when applying for jobs.

A smaller percentage of Second-Generation participants continued their education past high school or an associate's degree, as compared with the First Generation participants. While one participant attained a doctorate degree, 23.81% attained a Master's degree, and 19.05% attained a Bachelor's degree, the majority of Second Generation participants did not graduate a four-year university.[224] Careers are less diverse among this generation, as 13 participants selected "Retired" as their career choice. Some Second-Generation participants, still working, work in education or finance.[225]

Additionally, 6 participants described their career as a homemaker of sorts, some preferring the term "stay at home mom" or "house wife." Some Second-Generation interviewees shed light on one potential cause of this educational and professional disparity, explaining that first-cohort, Albanian-American women had much less freedom of choice when it came to professional work, or lack thereof. One woman regrets, "It was not my choice to be a homemaker, but you get married, you take care of your husband and the house . . . I had two years of schooling to finish but they wouldn't let

[224] One participant attended some high school, with no diploma given. Of the remainder, 19.05% graduated high school, or the equivalent, another 19.05% attended some college, but attained no degree, and the remaining 9.52% attained an Associate's degree. This data is found in Table VI.

[225] Two participants work in education and one works in financial management. Data taken from question 20, to which each participant wrote-in his or her career. To ensure participant confidentiality, this data cannot be shared.

me." Another female was lucky enough to pass the entrance examination to enter the Boston girls' Latin school, continue her studies in chemistry at Emmanuel College, and find work doing endocrinology for a pediatrician at Massachusetts General Hospital. Not all of her job applications were received so well, however. Some jobs, "did not even answer my application because women in those days weren't majoring in chemistry."

Second Generation female participants of the first and second cohort, however, expressed that having a career was possible, but difficult. Upon entering the business world one female interviewee felt her surname was a barrier to success, as others in the finance world deemed it an "ethnic name." She adds that these barriers may have also been the result of gender discrimination or nepotism within the company. When I ask how she chose a career in business, she dissected the appeal of a white-collar job. She and other Second-Generation Albanian Americans wanted to "break the glass ceiling," that her parents' generation was under, "I call them gray collars—they weren't really blue." Similarly to other Second-Generation interviewees, she has not obtained employment directly through other Albanian Americans but has networked with some.

Finding a spouse of Albanian heritage was less important to many than it was important to their First-Generation family members. Second Generation participants responded that 76.19% of their parents expressed preference as to what kind of person their children should marry, a higher number than First Generation participants.[226] A whopping 86.67% of parents expressed the desire for their children to marry someone of the same nationality. In a close second, 66.67% of parents expressed preference for a suitor of the same religion. Also of importance for 26.67% of parents was that someone

[226] Data found in Table IX.

have a good personality and good financial standing. Only one participant stated that their parents desired them to marry someone from the same village/region in Albania. Others included more specific wishes of their parents, that the person be "beautiful," "an educated person," or someone who "would also be a good husband." One specified that their parents also desired them to marry "a hard working, loving person, family man honest religious to an extent."[227]

Unfortunately for many Second Generation participants, their desires were dissimilar to those of their parents. To 80% of these survey respondents it was important to date someone with a good personality. Only 25% preferred someone of the same nationality and 20% preferred someone of the same religion. Additionally, 40% preferred someone with good financial standing. None expressed preference to marry someone from the same village/region in Albania. Unlike the First-Generation participants, who did not specify additional desires, 40% of the Second-Generation participants expressed other preferences for a significant other including: "beautiful," "smart and interesting," "compatible," "someone I fell in love with," "kind and honest person," "I preferred someone with intelligence and social awareness," "educated, caring hard worker loving family man honest religious to an extent," and "I preferred someone who was Christian with whom I was compatible and with whom I could build a good life."

Despite these personal desires, some Second-Generation interviewees within the first cohort had arranged marriages. One Albanian American added that arranged marriages were an improvement upon Albanian custom in the old country, in which, "A lot of people didn't know each other until they got to the priest." She joked, "If the bride

[227] Data found in Table X.

came down with a very heavy veil that meant you didn't want to see her face!" Another speaks of her Albanian parents living in the same village, but not meeting until their families traveled to America, joking, "In those days, what right did a woman have to choose her husband?" One remembers her father's threat, "There are two ways you leave this house: married to an Albanian or in a casket." Men also felt the pressure to marry within the ethnicity, one explaining his parents' blatant favoritism, "I could always get the car because I was dating an Albanian girl."[228]

One Second-Generation couple of the first cohort discusses their improbable marriage, between a Second-Generation Albanian woman and Sicilian man. Their chance meeting through friends developed into a serious affection, but both sets of parents fought the union for some time. The bride's father did not even attend the wedding, because he was too devout an Orthodox Christian to attend a Catholic wedding ceremony. The two discuss this affair, however, with confidence and not regret. Each was able to "win over" their in-laws in time. This first-cohort woman explains further that the community of Albanians living in Italy, the Arberesh, was a uniting force across these two cultures.

For some interviewees of the second cohort, finding an Albanian-American spouse was important, "I think deep down inside," one Second Generation participant admits with a laugh. Though her parents were pleased with their daughter's desire to marry an Albanian, they never impressed upon to marry within the ethnicity. Another female participant of the second cohort even elected to keep her maiden name after marrying. This modern custom, however, does not prevent her from holding a more traditional approach to child rearing. When asked if she would teach Albanian customs

[228] Data found in Table XI.

to her children she responded, "Absolutely. I think it gives [them] a foundation for where her parents and grandparents came from and it gives her strength to be a better person to Albanians and Americans.

Within the Second Generation respondents, 50% married a non-Albanian spouse.[229] Only 5% of this generation are divorced or separated, second only to the First Generation, among whom no participants are divorced or separated. Members of this generation are the only generational grouping in which every participant is or had previously been married. Additionally, the Second Generation, the generation with the oldest mean age, shows the highest rate of widowed Albanian Americans, at 25%.[230]

While traditions, such as name days, were also kept by the families of Second-Generation Albanian Americans, maintaining these traditions is not paramount for survey participants. While 33.33% "strongly agreed" and 44.44% "agreed" that, "Albanian music makes me want to dance,"[231] only 11.11% "strongly agreed" and 38.99% "agreed" that, "Our children should learn Albanian dances."[232] Similarly, Second Generation participants express that organizations which carry on Albanian culture are important,[233] fewer see the necessity that the Albanian tradition should be carried on by our young people. Only 33.33% "strongly agreed" and 27.78% "agreed" with this statement. The

[229] Data found in Table V.

[230] Data found in Table IV.

[231] Only 22.22% of respondents "neither agreed nor disagreed" with the statement. Data from Table XLII.

[232] 44.44% of participants "neither agreed nor disagreed" with the statement, and 5.56% "disagreed" with it. Data from Table XXXII.

[233] 27.78% "strongly agreed," and 61.11% "agreed" with this statement, and the remaining 2 participants "neither agreed nor disagreed." Data can be found in Table XXXVI.

remaining 38.89% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with the statement.[234] Many Second Generation interviewees enjoy reminiscing about these traditions, however, "those [name days] were the big thing. I mean, you had to prepare all kinds of goodies for the people sitting around. Raki, Albanian whiskey… I'm trying to remember if we had any Albanian stores, but the Greek stores had locume, the jelly square things with the powdered sugar." Others recall learning Albanian dances, such as the vale, from a young age, "Some of it is slow and some of it is fast. 1, 2, 3, kick!"

Religious Ethnicity

While the majority of First Generation participants prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language, 50% of Second Generation participants "disagreed." While one additional participant "strongly disagreed" that church services should be conducted in the Albanian language, not all participants feel the same. Opposing the majority are 5.56% who "strongly agreed" and 16.67% who "agreed" that church services should be conducted in the Albanian language. The remaining 22.22% "neither agreed nor disagreed."[235]

Despite disagreement on the language question, 27.78% "strongly agreed" and 55.56% "agreed" that they feel more comfortable in an Albanian Orthodox Church. Only three participants expressed neither agreement nor disagreement with this statement and

[234] Data from Table XXXVIII.

[235] Data from Table XXIV.

none expressed disagreement or strong disagreement.[236] Similarly, 22.22% "strongly agreed" and 44.44% "agreed" that regular church attendance is important for us all.[237] One interviewee contrasted the distinct difference between her relationship to church and her father's, to whom, "Church was his life, going to choir was his life." Though many Second-Generation interviewees of both cohorts lament their lack of piety compared to that of their parents, some individuals have managed to keep religious traditions alive. Interviewees spoke, in particular, about the "red eggs for Easter."[238]

Many of the Second-Generation interviewees have fond childhood memories of participation in church. Younger children in the first cohort did not typically attend church; Sunday mass was, primarily, an adult affair. Some remember attending liturgy as children, "only on high holidays." One Second Generation female, however, remembers attending St. George Cathedral "all the time." Once in junior high and high school first-cohort Albanian Americans typically joined the St. George Cathedral choir. When asked why she joined this organization, one interviewee laughed, "My father made me, but I loved it!" Practice was held once a week and the choir sang at Sunday liturgy. These choir members also socialized outside of choir practice, at events put on by St. George

[236] Data from Table XXVII.

[237] 27.78% "neither agreed nor disagreed," and 5.56% "disagreed" with the statement. Data can be found in Table XXXI.

[238] This tradition dyes eggs a blood red, as opposed to pastel colors; the color is representative of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. For some Eastern Orthodox Christians eggs are dyed red because of sacred tradition surrounding Mary Magdalene. In one story, Mary Magdalene was carrying eggs in a basket to the tomb of Jesus. When she arrived and saw the risen Christ, her eggs turned bright red. According to another tradition, Mary Magdalene traveled to Rome to spread the news of the Ascension of Jesus. When the skeptical emperor proclaimed, "Christ has no more risen than that egg is red," pointing to a nearby egg. Tradition follows that immediately after his statement the egg turned blood red. Greek USA Reporter, "The Symbolism of Cracking Red Eggs on Easter," last modified April 13, 2012, http://usa.greekreporter.com/2012/04/13/the-symbolism-of-cracking-red-eggs-on-easter/ (accessed August 15, 2015).

Cathedral. One interviewee laments, "When I go to church now it only has ten people singing, back then it was thirty."

Second-Generation participants are fairly enthusiastic about religious education, where 27.78% "strongly agreed" and 38.89% "agreed" that Albanian Orthodox religious education is important for our children.[239] Interviewees explain that for almost a quarter of a century, there was no Sunday School for Albanian Americans to attend.[240] One first-cohort male explains that because of the lack of Sunday School at St. George's his family, "sent me to the local Episcopal church." A few members of the second cohort describe Sunday School as a distant memory.[241] The curriculum comprised history and customs, in addition to religious tradition. One interviewee adds that for older students, "there was some Albanian [language] instruction." An interviewee from second cohort remembers Sunday School "vividly," and recalls these memories with fondness. She confesses, "I enjoyed Sunday School and I enjoyed church. I loved the whole concept of it. Did I learn a lot in Sunday School? No. But I did enjoy the whole concept of it."

The church also planned many social events in the first half of the twentieth century, which many of these Second Generation immigrants recall from their youth. Picnics and dances are among the warmest memories for some interviewees. As one participant lists the numerous Albanian social events she attended she is surprised by her own memory, "There were a lot of Albanian kids, I forgot about that." Additionally, picnics were primarily family events; one interviewee recalled, "we never went without

[239] The remaining 33.33% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with the statement. Data can be found in Table XXX.

[240] Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book*, 127.

[241] St. George Cathedral began its formal Sunday School program in the early 1923. Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book,* 152.

Mom or Dad." The church also participated in a youth baseball league. One second-cohort man recalls that when he was pitching, these "St. George Eagles" had a strong team.

These dances were extravagant events in which the church rented the main ballroom at "nice hotels." One interviewee of the first cohort recollects the choir members going to an Albanian dance together, an event attended by mostly teenagers. Another woman recalls, "The boys and girls went with the parents and the parents took you and the parents took you home because we weren't allowed to date or do anything with the [public] school, actually, so this is what you looked forward to." This austere approach to socializing differs from the recollections of a first-cohort male, then living in upstate New York. He drove two hours to the Copley Plaza to attend the Albanian dance, stayed at the event, and drove two hours home that same night.

In the mid-twentieth century the church moved away from some practices that were becoming rapidly outdated. At the church's inception religious services had been as long as two hours and without sitting room. Once seating was available gender-based segregation occurred, a first-cohort participant recalling, "The women sat on the left and the men sat on the right – you did *not* sit as a family. In the 40's they finally did away with that and the families sat together." Second Generation Albanian Americans of second cohort saw the Americanization of the church in other ways as well. Finally, the church also began to allow marriages between non-Albanians starting in the 1960's, a practice, according to one Second-Generation interviewee, that was previously "frowned upon" by the Albanian people.

Second-Generation participants are believe in providing financial support to the church, even if it is too far away from home to pay membership dues and travel to services. All but three Second-Generation respondents "strongly agreed" or "agreed" that it is important to contribute individual talents, time, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox Church.[242] However, fewer believe you should belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church even if it is located far from your home, with 16.67% "strongly agreeing" and 33.33% "agreeing." The largest response, at 38.89% "neither agreed nor disagreed," and 11.11% "disagreed" outright.[243] While many interviewees explained that they have been lifelong members, only a handful can commit to traveling into Boston each week. This is particularly true among first-cohort interviewees. When asked about involvement in the Daughters of St. George, one interviewee laughed and said, "I pay my dues." Most explain that they were simply raised with the belief that "You need to support the church. We were taught to support the church."

Many interviewees speak of their relationship to the church with a confident frankness and less sentimentality. Only 33.33% "strongly agreed" and 11.11% "agreed" that the Albanian Orthodox religious tradition helps to strengthen their quality of life. The most popular response to this statement, at 44.44%, was to "neither agree nor disagree," while 11.11% "disagreed." For the Second-Generation interviewees who attend mass every week, they make that clear. For others, who are not particularly religious, there is no sense of embarrassment. Some travel to the cathedral's religious services, rejoicing that they serve a social purpose. Once again, I hear the remark, "I am

[242] 22.22% "strongly agreed," 61.11% "agreed," 5.56% "neither agreed nor disagreed," and 11.11% "disagreed" with the statement. Found in Table XXIX.

[243] Data from Table XXVIII.

not religious, religious, I believe in God and... it's Albanianism." Also again, I hear the history lesson, familiar to Albanian Americans of every generation, "But even to this day if you meet an Albanian, I don't ask them if they're Muslim or Catholic or Orthodox—all that matters is that you're Albanian."

For one Muslim interviewee of the second cohort, this lesson in Albanianism holds particularly true. Her family was instrumental in establishing an Albanian mosque, which held Albanian language classes, religious classes, and dances. Their dance group performed for Flag Day at Anthony's Pier 4 in South Boston, an Albanian-owned establishment. She explains, "We grew up not celebrating Christmas," but adds, "I mean, my dad would always throw a party on Christmas day and the neighbors would come in and have drinks and appetizers . . . but it was never about Santa Claus." She keeps some Muslim traditions with her children, but also attends St. George Cathedral on Christian holidays. To this interviewee, "I believe every religion offers something valuable—different paths to the truth."

When I ask if St. George could do anything to increase involvement within religious or social programs one third-cohort interviewee responds, "It's really hard to say what else St. George's could do because we're all so evolved in the real world now." What she means by "real world" is unclear. Once again, multiple interviewees explain that the physical challenges of the cathedral are largest impediment to success in the twenty-first century, including lack of an auditorium. Another argues that the contemporary immigrant generation has had great success at St. George, but hints that the

church is somehow failing the aging Second Generation, members of the first cohort now being between 76 and 90 years old.[244]

National Ethnicity

For some in the Second Generation, "You're taught—from the time you're conscious—you're taught why [Albanians] have this pride. It was the fight in us, Skanderbeg and the Turks and Alexander the Great's mom—you know she's Albanian—Mother Theresa, so we have a rich heritage for a small country." A Second-Generation male puts it differently, "I mean, we were brainwashed we were special." Few Second-Generation Albanian Americans have traveled to Albania, though many expressed a desire to see the beautiful country. Some explained they are too old for the long flight across the Atlantic, but, for others, the trip is too costly. One, however, leads a university study abroad group to Albania, annually. The trip is popular and rather exclusive, with the cap at twelve students.

As the first cohort of the Second Generation lived through numerous wars, it is not surprising that some enlisted in the U.S. military.[245] One dropped out of high school to join the U.S. Navy, which he favored to being drafted in another division. Another served in the United States Air Force. Neither of these interviewees expressed sentimentality, nor did they describe feelings of American nationalism. Only one of the

[244] Table II in the Introduction shows birth years for the members of the first age cohort of the Second Generation.

[245] Three survey participants specified that during their time living outside of Massachusetts, they were enlisted in the U.S. military. Question 16 of two-part survey.

Second-Generation interviewees (of the second cohort) has participated in civic, state, or national government. She is involved with political campaigns because, “Whether you’re in the left or right, it is important to have democracy.”

Fewer members of the Second Generation believe that we need stronger organizations to express the views of Albanian Americans, with 22.22% “strongly agreeing” and 22.22% “agreeing” with the statement. Instead, 44,44% “neither agreed nor disagreed” with it, and 11.11% “disagreed” altogether about the necessity of these organizations. Surprisingly, many Second-Generation interviewees served on national Albanian organizations, as well as American-based committees. One female was much more involved in local volunteer work, serving on school committees, fund raising for cancer prevention, and leading a local Girl Scout Troop. Another belonged to Albanian American National Organization (AANO) and also participated in the Albanian language school during her late twenties. The AANO is a national organization with multiple chapters, coming together twice annually in February and August. One remembers annual basketball tournaments between chapters that have since ceased, lamenting, “Unfortunately, the organization is not what it used to be.”

Membership in one of these national organizations, however, is not always due to an overwhelming love for Albania and Albanian people. These organizations and their events are hailed as gathering places for some Second-Generation Albanian Americans, where, as a second-cohort female explains, "a lot of people would meet people like that, another Albanian." This is a subtle hint from one interviewee that Albanians who are seeking out an Albanian American spouse look forward to these events. One second-cohort male is much more forthcoming in declaring, “I belonged to the AANO when I

was sixteen because I wanted to meet girls."

A married couple's involvement with the Albanian Humanitarian Association (AHA) is impressive. The "first part of the effort with AHA was to try to collect food and clothing to ship to Albania." In traditional Albanian form, the committee was welcoming to all religions and non-Albanian spouses of Albanian Americans. Through the AHA some Second Generation Albanian Americans housed, "Albanian professionals who were being paid by the [U.S.] government to come here and learn how an American business was run." These Albanian citizens would spend about three months living with an Albanian-American host family and working in an American business. Second-Generation interviewees learned about the old country, joking that by the end of the three months, "We have PhDs in Albanian history, religion, literature."

Others remember helping with the charity drives organized by AHA as children. A select few Second-Generation Albanian Americans have worked as a part of the National Albanian American Council, a lobbyist group based out of Washington D.C. Some interviewees prefer to attend events put on by MAAS BESA. One participant informed me that there is also an Albanian-American lawyers society. Regardless of how they have gotten involved, and what age cohort they belong to, almost all Second-Generation interviewees belong to at least one Albanian American organization. One expresses her reason for involvement, "[the organizations] identify with who I am trying to help . . . the Albanian community."

A majority of Second-Generation participants believe it important that Albanian newspapers and publications are continued.[246] Interestingly enough, the Second-

[246] 11.11% of participants "strongly agreed" with the statement, 61.11% "agreed" with the statement, 22.22% "neither agreed nor disagreed," and 5.56% "disagreed." Results found in Table XLIII.

Generation interviewees remember these newspapers not for their attention to current events, but news within the Albanian community. One remembers reading these publications earlier in life, reports of marriages, obituaries, announcements of events, referring to it as “the gossip column.” Another participant does not read Albanian publications or newspapers, but subscribes to *Illyria* in order to "look at the pictures and sort of get the gist of what's going on." This interviewee is not fluent but understands and speaks some Albanian.

When asked if these interviewees thought of themselves as Albanian, American, or something else, one responded, “A combination of the two.” To this day another is a proud, self-professed, "Albanian American." Others use this moniker as well, explaining, “I love this country and I love Albania.” Only one interviewee responded confidently, “American. I just think of myself as American.” Others spoke of admiration for their fathers and mothers for becoming U.S. Citizens. The diversity in these responses is reflective of the diversity within the contemporary Albanian-American community. For these Second-Generation Albanian Americans, the majority remains, “A little steeped in the old world but living in the new.”

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA ON CONTEMPORARY ALBANIAN AMERICANS OF GREATER BOSTON: THIRD AND FOURTH GENERATION

This chapter includes analysis of survey and interview responses of Third and Fourth-Generation participants, separately. First, analysis of Third-Generation data will be presented, in order to determine which models of assimilation best describe the Third-Generation members of this select community of contemporary Albanian Americans in Greater Boston and how to compare these attitudes and models of assimilation to Third-Generation participants in Nagi's study.[247] Second, this chapter will provide analysis of survey responses for Fourth Generation participants, to determine models of assimilation among this generation.[248] Discussion of each of these generational groups will be sorted by cultural, religious, and national ethnicity.[249] Additionally, analysis will be based largely on ethnicity scale score, as determined by participant response to Likert items.[250]

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[247] Analysis of Third-Generation interviews will supplement the data collected from the two-part questionnaire and ethnicity scale scores (both found in Appendix E).

[248] No Fourth-Generation interview analysis is possible, as no interviewees belong to this generation. Unfortunately, as Nagi surveyed no Fourth-Generation participants in 1982, there will be no comparison of ethnic, national, and religious attachments and degrees of assimilation of today's Fourth-Generation respondents to Nagi's population of thirty years ago.

[249] Once again, as with Chapters 3-4, no conclusions will be provided in this chapter. This chapter alone provides analysis of the data. Conclusions regarding models of assimilation among Third-and Fourth-Generation participants and comparison of these models of assimilation to those of Third-Generation participants in Nagi's earlier study, will be found in Chapter 6.

[250] The ethnicity scale score is calculated according to the parameters set in Chapter 1 and the beginning of Chapter 3.

The mean ethnicity scale score of the Third Generation is higher than both the First and Second Generations, at 2.38. The ethnicity scale score for Third-Generation national identity is 2.55, cultural identity is 2.16, and religious identity is 2.43. Once again, as with the First and Second Generations, ethnicity scale score for cultural identity is the lowest of the three means. Similarly to the Second Generation, ethnicity scale score is highest for national ethnicity of Third Generation participants.[251]

While, for the First, Second, and Third Generations, mean ethnicity scale score increases as generation increases, the Fourth Generation breaks this trend. The ethnicity scale score among the Fourth Generation is 1.95, the lowest of all generational groupings. For national identity, the participants scored 2.33, for cultural identity, 1.84, and for religious identity, 1.67.[252] Like all other generational groupings, mean ethnicity scale score is lowest with cultural identity. Similarly to all but the First Generation, national ethnicity has the highest mean. As participation of this generation was severely limited (to four survey participants and no interviewees), this data cannot represent this population at large.

Third Generation

The Third Generation had the highest survey response rate, with 25 participants, and a high response rate for participation in interviews, with seven (36.84% of the total)

[251] This data found in Table XLVII.

[252] This information found in Table XLVII.

interviewees.[253] With a mean age of 54.92 this group differs greatly from Nagi's Third-Generation participants, for whom a mean age of 30.16 made the data inconclusive. The Third Generation in this study contains members of two age cohorts, the first having eleven participants and the second having fourteen participants.[254] Table III indicates that the overall majority of survey respondents in this generation were female, with 16 female responses (61.54%) and 10 male responses (38.46%).[255]

Table XIII shows that Third Generation are more likely than the First or Second Generation participants to report as upper-middle class, with 40% of the Third Generation participants reporting as middle class and another 40% reporting as upper-middle class. The Third Generation is also the only generational grouping to have a participant report as upper class. Curiously, Third Generation participants were also more likely to identify as working class and lower class. Thus, while the highest concentration of upper-middle class is found among the Third Generation, so is the highest quantity of both lower and working class participants.[256]

Perhaps most significant is that while many of this generation speak of having heritage within multiple ethnic groups, they vocalize identification with the Albanian portion more so than the others. One participant recalls asking at a young age, "Mommy,

[253] Data for the mean age of my survey participants can be found in Table II, unlike Nagi's study, in which the Third-Generation data was inconclusive due to a young mean age of 30.16. As the Third-Generation participants were significantly younger, Nagi's study drew no clear conclusions about this generation as a whole. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 105-106, 110.

[254] This information found in Table II of the Introduction.

[255] This information found in Table III.

[256] While there is insufficient data to draw a conclusion regarding the Fourth Generation, Table XIII suggests that the Fourth Generation is still young and, perhaps, unsettled in their career and economic condition.

how come Daddy's Irish and we're Albanian?" The presence of Albanian customs and religion among an increasingly diverse group of Albanian Americans makes their dedication to cultural, religious, and national ethnicity comparatively significant.

Cultural Ethnicity

Members of the Third Generation are less likely than First or Second-generation participants to "agree" than an Albanian neighborhood is a friendlier place to live. An overwhelming 83.33% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with this statement.[257] Similarly, 75% of Third-Generation participants "neither agreed nor disagreed" that they are more comfortable with Albanian people. While 20.83% "agreed" with that statement, one even "disagreed" that they feel more comfortable with Albanian people.

Some Third-Generation interviewees explain this ambivalence in light of growing up in multi-ethnic neighborhoods, socializing more with "American," as opposed to "Albanian," children. One added that time spent with Albanian cousins supplemented this lifestyle well. For another, socializing with Lebanese and Greek-Orthodox children brought about an overlap in cultural similarities, such as a family dinner on Easter Sunday, "lamb, of course." Though most participants grew up surrounded by Irish families, two remember having a majority of Jewish neighbors. One spent her childhood in an ethnically diverse setting including, "Irish, Italian, Greek, African, Portuguese, Scots, Lebanese, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, [and] English-Americans, of Roman

[257] Only one participant "disagreed" with this statement, the remaining 12.5% "agreed" with the statement. Results found in Table XXV.

Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, Eastern Orthodox, and Jewish religion."

Regardless of their neighborhood makeup, 79.17% of Third-Generation participants believe our young people should carry on the Albanian tradition.[258] Similarly, large numbers of Third-Generation respondents strongly agree (20.83%) and agree (66.67%) that we need to know the history of the Albanian people.[259] Interviewees express the opinion that time spent with family, including grandmother, meant learning Albanian traditions. For most Third-Generation Albanian Americans the consensus was, "I didn't see anybody that was Albanian outside of church." While not all placed judgment on this lack of Albanian Americans in their daily life, it was disappointing for some interviewees. One expressed that the lack of Albanian children in daily life was slightly isolating, "Sometimes I think it was hard because you're the only one."

Third-Generation Albanian Americans are less enthusiastic about the public schools teaching more about Albania and Albanian Americans. Only 4.17% "strongly agreed" and 45.83% "agreed" that the schools should teach more, and 45.83% "neither agreed nor disagreed."[260] For the Third Generation the public schools still taught nothing of this small country. Some enthusiastic Albanian-American interviewees would later learn about their country of origin through books. One even traveled to Albania with a group of young Albanian Americans from the Greater Boston area. Another remembers being questioned by her public school peers as to where her unique surname originated. Conversely, a particularly enthusiastic Albanian American, "Wound up teaching my

[258] Data can be found in Table XXXVIII.

[259] Data can be found in Table XL.

[260] Data from Table XLI.

teachers, classmates, and anyone else I'd meet about Albania!"

The Third Generation is the highest educated of all survey participants in this study, with 44% attaining a Bachelor's degree, 20% attaining a Master's degree, 4% earning a Professional degree, and 16% attaining a Doctorate degree.[261] As early as 1982 34.0% of Nagi's Third-Generation Albanian Americans had continued their education past their four years of undergraduate study.[262] Some Third-Generation participants made most of their time at university, one interviewee describing a unique opportunity to explore their own Albanian heritage. With friends of similar religious upbringings, this individual formed an Orthodox-Christian fellowship.

Third-Generation Albanian Americans display great variety in their careers, ranging from construction management to education, technology to art, medicine to sales, economics to retail, and even priesthood.[263] The majority of Albanian Americans in this generation do not speak of working with fellow Albanian Americans, nor do they vocalize any impediments in terms of finding work. One woman obtained employment through an Albanian network, being hired for her first job at Anthony's Pier 4 in South Boston, a five-star restaurant owned by Albanian American Anthony Athanas. Only one other spoke of a few consulting jobs he received through an Albanian network. Many women and men in this generation have been able to choose their career path, and succeed without aid from ethnic networks.

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[261] Of the remaining 20% of participants, 8% attained an associate degree. Additionally, one participant attended some college without earning a degree, and one other participant graduated from trade or vocational school. Data found in Table VI.

[262] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 111.

[263] Data taken from question 20, to which each participant input his or her career. To ensure participant confidentiality, this data cannot be shared.

Despite high levels of education and a wide variety of careers, only 80% of the Third Generation reported as middle class and upper-middle class.[264] Of the remainder, 12% report as working class, 4% as lower class, and 4% as upper class. Additionally, this is the only class to have participants report as either lower class or upper class.[265] Members of the Third Generation also report homeownership in high numbers, 84%, though not as high as the Second Generation.[266]

Though parent influence was reported in high numbers among First and Second-Generation participants, only 40% of Third-Generation participants had parents who expressed a preference in the kind of person their children should marry.[267] For these 40%, however, similar trends continue, with 70% of these parents preferring someone of the same nationality. Both good financial standing and good personality were desired by 50% of these parents, with only 30% preferred someone of the same religion. One other parent preferred their child to marry "someone with a good education."[268]

What was important to their parents, however, was different than what Third-Generation participants looked for in a spouse. A mere 12% preferred someone of the same nationality, the lowest reported rate by any generational grouping. Only 24% preferred someone of the same religion or of good financial standing. Most important to these Third-Generation participants was a good personality, which 88% of respondents desired. Additional specifications were reported by 20% of respondents, who longed for

[264] 40% report as middle class and 40% report as upper-middle class.

[265] Data found in Table XIII.

[266] Data found in Table XI.

[267] Data found in Table IX.

[268] Data found in Table X.

a partner who was: "Christian," "Honest, kind, and caring," "Someone with high ethical and moral standards," "I preferred someone that was a good person," and "Someone with a good education, who had the same vision for life as I, including seeing the world."[269]

Among the Third Generation, only one Albanian spouse is reported, meaning the rate of intermarriage among that generation is as high as 93.33%. Additionally, the divorce rate rises to 16% among Third-Generation participants.[270] While these Third-Generation interviewees expressed that finding a spouse of Albanian American heritage was not important, no interviewees discussed divorce. One second-cohort interviewee admitted, "Sometimes I think now it's too hard to maybe have too much in common. I don't really think that [my parents] care, I think they just want a nice guy to be good to me." Similar attitudes are reflected across the board. Another first-cohort participant explained that though he dated a few Albanian women, marrying one was, "Definitely not important to me or my parents when I was younger, partly because it limited the pool to your cousins." For the Third Generation, participants marry outside their ethnicity in high numbers, though further study of their motives for intermarriage is limited.

Third-Generation participants are also less likely to desire that their children learn to speak Albanian. The largest group (45.83%) "neither agreed nor disagreed," followed by 37.5% that "agreed" that our children should learn the language.[271] While some interviewees sought out study of the Albanian language, many did not. One interviewee admits, "I'm not able to speak or understand the language. Oh yeah, my parents speak,

[269] Data found in Table XI.

[270] Results from Table V and Table IV. Only 77.8% of the Third Generation in Nagi's study married non-Albanians. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 111.

[271] Additionally, three participants "strongly agreed" that our children should learn to speak Albanian, and one participant "disagreed." Results found in Table XXVI.

but they didn't speak it to me. Like, if they didn't want me to hear something they would speak in Albanian." Another echoes the sentiment, adding that parents also spoke Albanian "when they swore, on the phone with their parents." One first-cohort participant learned the language independently, as adults, "I would say it's 80% self-taught with cassettes and books. I am not fluent but I can function—I couldn't get a job though, but I can hang out in the coffee shop."

The Third Generation is not as concerned as their parents' generation with having centers where young people can learn about the Albanian culture, only 8.33% strongly agreeing and 58.33% agreeing with this statement.[272] Interviewees explain that most traditions were kept not in centers, but in the childhood homes of Albanian Americans. For example: red eggs for Easter, Spinach pie for New Years, "and when we get Holy Water when any of us go for surgery or a doctor's appointment we take a drink of it." Some drank "Albanian whiskey the night before we got married," while others "celebrated name days." Traditional Albanian food also holds a special place in the hearts of Third-Generation Albanian Americans, one first-cohort member exclaiming, "God yeah, Albanian food was a big part of the culture and I loved all of it! All the pastries and the food and, to be honest, I have a couple of Albanian cookbooks . . . Even now we have Thanksgiving and we make an Irish stuffing and an Albanian stuffing."

Just as their parents kept these traditions alive, most Third-Generation participants hope to carry these traditions on for their children. An overwhelming 8.33% "strongly agreed" and 79.17% "agreed" that our young people should carry on the Albanian

[272] Data found in Table XXXIX.

tradition.[273] Additionally, over half of survey respondents strongly agree or agree that our children should learn Albanian dances.[274] One interviewee elucidated, "Learning Albanian traditions, language, and religion was important at the early stages of growth and to ensure family unity. However, they were raised to make their own decisions, in that regard which we respect."

Religious Ethnicity

The Third Generation holds the largest religious diversity, with 12% of their participants identifying with a religion other than Albanian Orthodox.[275] Furthermore, one of these three participants reporting a religious affiliation other than Albanian Orthodox (the Third Generation participant identifying as "Other") explained their religious affiliation as, "Non-practicing Orthodox Christian with Agnostic and Buddhist tendencies." Despite some emerging religious diversity among Third-Generation participants, a significant majority of the contemporary Albanian-American community is still affiliated with the Albanian Orthodox church. Like members of the Second Generation, however, few (12.5%) of Third-Generation respondents prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language.

Generally, these participants also agree that the Albanian Orthodox tradition helps

[273] Only 12.5% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with this statement. Data can be found in Table XXXVIII.

[274] Results from Table XXXII.

[275] Results for this paragraph are from Table VII.

to strength their family life. On a Likert scale, 20.83% "strongly agreed" and 41.67% "agreed" with this statement.[276] Most Third-Generation participants have belonged to St. George Cathedral for their entire life, from baptism to the present day. One proudly told that she attended Sunday School "every Sunday" as a child. For many of these Albanian Americans, the journey into church was a long one; one interviewee remembers, "on Sundays we would travel almost an hour" to the nearest Albanian Orthodox church. Almost all Third-Generation participants remember attending mass on holidays such as Christmas and Easter.

Many Third-Generation participants attended Sunday School in a building next door to the St. George Cathedral. One explains that the Sunday School filled almost the entire building and, "More so attended than now." Others who attended Sunday School throughout their childhood, "Don't remember it having any sort of powerful effect on me." One remembers distinctly how the curriculum had a wide range, from "prayers in Albanian and English, and we learned about the Bible, and colored and drew pictures." For another, attendance at Sunday School was short-lived and ended at age five, when her family moved out of the city, to the suburbs.

Many Third-Generation Albanian Americans of the Greater Boston area grew up in primarily Irish neighborhoods. For one Third-Generation Albanian American with an Irish Catholic father, he understood that being Albanian Orthodox meant being different. He explains, "Irish kids used to ask, 'Are you Protestant or Catholic?' You couldn't say." General ignorance of the Albanian-American community even extended to adults within the community, "For example little league would have games on Easter and you have to

[276] 29.17% "neither agreed nor disagreed," and 8.33% "disagreed" with the statement. Data found in Table XXXIII.

explain, and the coach says, 'What's Albanian Easter?' If you're speaking with someone who is less-educated the quickest way to explain it is say it's like Greek Orthodox."

Third-Generation participants are less likely than their parents' generation to belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church even if it is located far from home. While 4.17% "strongly agreed" and 58.33% "agreed," 25% were neutral, and 12.5% "disagreed".[277] One Third-Generation participant did not attend St. George Cathedral, but a local Greek church attended by other Albanian families. During high school, he joined the Greek Orthodox Youth of America, where he could celebrate "dancing to music and eating the foods our own family enjoyed at home." He explains that while this was not an Albanian church, "I had always heard Greek music growing up . . . Older Albanians were also fluent in Greek as well as Albanian." These cultural similarities proved sufficient for this Third-Generation Albanian American. He has also attended St. George Cathedral, "On and off my entire life," and has, "The deepest admiration and respect for all those involved in keeping it going."

The majority of Third-Generation survey participants agree that Albanian Orthodox religious education is important for our children (20.83% "strongly agreed" and 50% "agreed").[278] Third-Generation Albanian Americans have also participated in a variety of social and religious activities organized by the church. As children enrolled in Sunday School, some acted and sang in the Christmas pageants. Another remembers the large picnics from her childhood, where she learned Albanian line dances. One interviewee even began playing the organ at his church, by age sixteen becoming the lead

[277] Data found in Table XXVIII.

[278] Data found in Table XXX.

organist for the parish. He recalls that this involvement extended to his family; his brothers served as altar boys and his mother was director of the choir.

Unlike the majority of First and Second-Generation participants, no Third-Generation interviewees mentioned Albanianism. One shared a story that displays Albanian religious tolerance, but he described the experience as an isolated instance, not in relation to Albanianism. As a young man, he had the opportunity to learn the Albanian language by enrolling in Albanian language classes at the Albanian Islamic Center. Here, he was also fortunate enough to learn about the Muslim Albanian Americans, and invited to, "Pray in my own way, even making the sign of the cross."

Only one interviewee commented on being married in the Albanian Orthodox church, where the service differs greatly from a traditional Protestant or Catholic ceremony. The interviewee describes the mystical ceremony, requiring limited speech on the part of the bride and groom, complete, "with the crowns and everything." She continues to explain how the service is highly symbolic of the union of marriage, where the priest places crowns on both the bride's and groom's heads and leads them around a small table. This participant expressed the desire for her daughters to also marry in the Albanian-Orthodox church, even if they do not marry Albanian-American spouses.

Fewer Third-Generation participants believe it is important for them to contribute their time, talents, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox church, though interviewees discussed the topic at length with a sense of duty to the church.[279] As for belonging to church organizations, many Third-Generation women belong to the all-female Daughters

[279] 20.83% "strongly agreed," and 37.5% "agreed" that "it is important to contribute my time, talents, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox church." These numbers are smaller than in the Second Generation. Data found in Table XXIX.

of St. George, an auxiliary club that does much of the fundraising for the church. One of the members explains feeling "a little out of the loop because I'm an Albanian American and they are able to communicate with each other [in Albanian], and they know people and I don't, really." Despite this cultural divide, she has no desire to continue with Albanian language studies. Another second-cohort member of the Daughters of St. George joined the organization only after being convinced by her mother. She also taught Sunday School for a brief period, fulfilling her responsibility to the church, "I also think where it's so few people you feel like you should do something to help out."

Declining from the Second to the Third-Generation is agreement with the statement that regular church attendance is important for us all. Only 12.5% "strongly agreed" and 41.67% "agreed" with it. A large minority, 33.33% "neither agreed nor disagreed," and 12.5% "disagreed" completely.[280] One Third-Generation participant offers reasoning that Albanian Americans are less inclined to attend church for religious services, "For our parents' generation the only way to see other Albanians was to go to church, but now people work at State Street with other Albanians." Other Third-Generation church members have the same quips with St. George as other generations, "I would go, but with the parking…" What the church continually offers, however, is a sense of community. The social aspect of Sunday mass is overwhelming and enjoyable, "I know if I go to church I'll see twenty, thirty, forty people I know."

[280] Data found in Table XXXI.

National Ethnicity

Though most First and Second-Generation interviewees overtly expressed pride for Albanian heritage, the Third Generation has a unique take on national ethnicity. For one, a childhood memory tainted her national pride; she would feel "embarrassed when kids made fun of never having heard of the country Albania." Another explains, "I wasn't too proud—I don't know if proud is the right word—that I was different. Because it wasn't that diverse of a town I kind of stuck out." Perhaps pride in their heritage is not so common because, as one explains, "Being Albanian American is like breathing to me. I'm not proud of breathing, but I have to do it to live."

Many Third-Generation participants believe, similarly to their parents' generation, that we need stronger organizations to express the views of Albanian Americans. While only 4.17% "strongly agreed" with this statement, 41.67% "agreed."[281] Despite this belief, not many Third-Generation interviewees belong to Albanian national organizations. One first-cohort interviewee has belonged to the MAAS BESA society for the past seven years. This organization started up for two reasons: "One is the church is just not enough, because the community is so much larger and a lot of people are not religious, [two] AANO of which there was a local chapter, but a local chapter you don't have the freedom to do what you want." This organization is for the Albanian Americans of Massachusetts and comprises an Albanian language school, Albanian dance group, and even a hospital fund.

Generally, Third-Generation participants "strongly agreed" (8.33%) and "agreed"

[281] 50% "neither agreed nor disagreed," and only 4.17% "disagreed." Data found in Table XXXV.

(54.17%) that Albanian newspapers and publications need to be continued. However, 33.33% of respondents "neither agreed nor disagreed" with the statement, and 4.17% "disagreed" with it.[282] Most of the Third-Generation interviewees explain that one of the reasons they do not subscribe to Albanian newspapers or publications is not for lack of national zeal, but rather inability to read or speak Albanian (other than key words spoken by their parents and grandparents). Others express different reasoning for their lack of support for Albanian publications, one critiquing these journalists for their "sensationalism." One who is learned in Albanian seldom speaks the language, aside from the occasional conversation with her brother. Even MAAS BESA does not run a newspaper because, as one interviewee commented, today "you reach less and less people with newspapers."

One Albanian American had the opportunity to visit Albania when it was still a communist country. He describes, "It was a gripping experience. I loved meeting the people and viewing the land of my ancestors . . . I felt it was my responsibility to foster diplomatic relations between Albania and the U.S. as a means of securing greater freedom for them." This Third Generation interviewee is an outlier in terms of his advocacy for the people still living in the old country.

However different the Third Generation is from their Second and First Generation ancestors, as well as the contemporary First-Generation Albanian Americans, these interviewees declare their Albanian nationalism. When asked to self-identify as Albanian, American, or something else, this generation was less enthusiastic about their Albanian heritage and more introspective. One replied, "Um, I guess, Albanian American, or whatever," and another said, reluctantly, "I guess an American." Another

[282] Data found in Table XLIII.

interviewee adds, “I always tell people my instinct and my heart are Albanian but my head and way of acting is more American.”

One may misconstrue these comments, seeing a lack of national ethnicity. This confusion, however, arises from these interviewee’s’ self-awareness of the complexity of ethnicity. One summarizes, “In my parents’ generation the pressure was to assimilate and become American—they would try to make their kids as American as possible. Now [America] is more tolerant and multicultural—you can be both.” Another describes their ethnicity as such, “I think of myself as an American by birth, of Albanian heritage—a loyal U.S. citizen with a sense of the interrelationship of all humanity worldwide.” Overall, these Third-Generation interviewees show belief in "the melting pot of humanity, and also enjoy the culture, foods, artifacts, and customs of Albania. I think these things should be preserved and shared with others.

The Fourth Generation

Data collected from the Fourth Generation is inconclusive, as only four members of this generation participated in the electronic survey and none participated in interviews.[283] The Fourth Generation is also the youngest generation with a mean age of 35.25.[284] These participants, though few, still comprise two separate age cohorts. The

[283] Data found in Table I.

[284] Data found in Table II.

first and second cohorts each contain two participants.[285] Additionally, of these four respondents, all were female.[286] Though data from this generational grouping is in no way representative of the population at large, some insights may be gained.

Oddly enough the ethnicity scale score for the Fourth Generation is the lowest of them all, at 1.95. According to this data, the Fourth Generation is ostensibly the group to which ethnicity has the strongest holding power. However, the generation's overall lack of participation directly contradicts the generation's low ethnicity scale score.[287] While the Fourth Generation participants of the Albanian American community of Greater Boston show strong ties to their ethnic background, lack of participation by their generation places these Fourth Generation participants as outliers.

Cultural Ethnicity

The majority of Fourth-Generation participants "neither agreed nor disagreed" that an Albanian neighborhood is a friendlier place to live.[288] Participants also responded neutrally to the statement, "Our children should learn to speak Albanian," where only 33.33% "agreed."[289] Fourth-Generation Albanian Americans are also most likely to

[285] This data found in Table II of the Introduction.

[286] Data found in Table III.

[287] A lower ethnicity scale score equates to a higher commitment to cultural, religious, and national ethnicity.

[288] Only 3 of the 4 Fourth-Generation participants responded to the Likert item questions. Data from Table XXV.

[289] Data found in Table XXVI.

disagree with the statement "I feel more comfortable with Albanian people." While 33.33% "agreed" with the statement, 33.33% "neither agreed nor disagreed," and 33.33% "disagreed" with the statement. Further research needs to be completed on the Fourth Generation in order to draw further conclusions about their cultural ethnicity.

While two Fourth-Generation survey participants reside in the Greater Boston area, two have moved out of the state of Massachusetts. One of these participants lives as far away as Los Angeles, California.[290] Further study of Fourth-Generation residential patterns will better provide information on this generation's involvement in the Albanian Orthodox community of Greater Boston.

Despite being the youngest generation, Fourth-Generation participants have already achieved high levels of education.[291] One has completed some college and not yet received a degree, one has attained a Bachelor's degree, one has attained a Master's degree, and the other has completed a Doctorate. Despite high levels of education, half of Fourth-Generation respondents consider themselves working class. One self-reports as middle class, and the other as upper-middle class. This generation contains the highest number of working class respondents.[292] Similarly, only 50% of Fourth Generation participants report homeownership.[293] Potentially, participant youth may contribute to these participants being unsettled in their career and economic condition. However,

[290] Data from questions 14 and 16. As each participant input his or her town of residence and reasons for living outside of Massachusetts, this data cannot be shared, to ensure participant confidentiality.

[291] Due to the mean age of 35.25, many Fourth-Generation participants have time to complete even higher levels of education.

[292] Data found in Table XIII.

[293] Data found in Table VIII.

further study is invited as to the economic advancement of the Fourth Generation before conclusions can be made about their social class.

While 75% of Fourth-Generation participants have never married, the divorce rate for the generation is the highest found in the study at 25%.[294] The rate of divorce among survey participants rises steadily from First to Fourth Generation, a trend also reported in Nagi's study.[295] Though no conclusions can be made regarding an increasing rate of divorce as generation increases, this invites further study for future generations of Albanian Americans. Similarly, as no Fourth Generation participants are married, no conclusions can be made about the rate of intermarriage within this generation. Future study of the Fourth Generation must be done to determine the rate at which participants marry a non-Albanian spouse.

To these respondents, organizations that carry on the Albanian culture are important.[296] They also "agreed," generally, that we need centers where our young people can learn about Albanian culture.[297] Further study can be done here, to discover why Fourth-Generation participants desire centers and organizations that promote learning about the Albanian culture. Despite desiring such organizations, not all Fourth-Generation participants believe that public schools are the proper venue for education

[294] Data found in Table IV.

[295] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 110.

[296] 66.67% "strongly agreed," and 33.33% "agreed" that "organizations which carry on the Albanian culture are important." Data found in Table XXXVI.

[297] 33.33% "strongly agreed," 33.33% "agreed," and 33.33% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with this statement. Data found in Table XXXIX.

about Albania and Albanian Americans.[298] A potential hypothesis for this future research may be that Fourth Generation participants require a place to learn the history of the Albanian people.[299] Fourth Generation participants "disagreed," however, on the importance of their children learning Albanian dances. While 33.33% "strongly agreed" and 33.33% "agreed" with its importance to Albanian culture, 33.33% "neither agreed nor disagreed."[300]

Religious Ethnicity

The majority of Fourth-Generation participants also affiliate with the Albanian Orthodox Church. Only one participant reported with another affiliation, Catholic.[301] Fourth-Generation respondents also "strongly agreed" (66.67%) that they feel more comfortable in an Albanian Orthodox Church.[302] Similarly, all "agreed" (33.33% "strongly agreed and 66.67% "agreed") that the Albanian Orthodox religious tradition

[298] 33.33% "strongly agreed," 33.33% "agreed," and 33.33% "neither agreed nor disagreed" with this statement. Data can be found in Table XLI.

[299] 66.67% "strongly agreed" and 33.33% "agreed" that "we need to know the history of the Albanian people." As many Third-Generation interviewees described educating themselves on their people's history, perhaps the Fourth Generation is also looking to educate themselves on their ancestry and would like to have centers that could help with this learning process. Data found in Table XL.

[300] Data found in Table XXXII. Fourth-Generation participants are least enthusiastic about Albanian dance, with 66.67% "neither agreeing nor disagreeing" with the statement, "Albanian music makes me want to dance." Data found in Table XLII.

[301] Data found in Table VII.

[302] Data found in Table XXVII.

helps to strengthen their family life.[303] Oddly enough, these participants "strongly agreed" (33.33%) and "agreed" (33.33%) that they prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language. As these numbers are a high jump from the Third, Second, and First Generation, further study is invited as to why Fourth-Generation members show such high preference the Albanian language.[304] Further study should also ask if Fourth-Generation Albanian Americans speak or understand the Albanian language.

Participants also believe that it is important to belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church even if it is located far from your home.[305] Conversely, regular church attendance is not as important to these three participants. Two selected that they strongly agree that "Regular church attendance is important to us all," but one neither agrees nor disagrees.[306] Similarly, 66.67% "strongly agreed" and 33.33% "agreed" that it is important for them to contribute their time, talents, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox Church.[307] Fourth-Generation participants are also enthusiastic about Albanian Orthodox religious education being important for their children, with 33.33% "strongly agreeing" and 66.67% "agreeing" with the statement.[308]

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[303] Data found in Table XXXIII.

[304] Data found in Table XII.

[305] 33.33% responded "strongly agree," and 66.67% responded "agree." Data found in Table XXVIII.

[306] Data found in Table XXXI.

[307] Data found in Table XXIX.

[308] Data found in Table XXX.

National Ethnicity

There is no data collected on the participation of Fourth-Generation Albanian Americans in Albanian-American organizations, but these three survey participants believe in the necessity of such organizations.[309] These respondents also "agreed" in high numbers (66.67% "strongly agreed" and 33.33% "agreed") that we should be willing to give money to preserve the Albanian tradition.[310] It is also interesting to note, given the young mean age of this generation, the high numbers with which they reported that the Albanian tradition should be carried on by our young people. Of the three respondents, two "strongly agreed" and one "agreed" with this statement.[311] The majority of Fourth Generation participants "agreed" (66.67%) that Albanian newspapers and publications need to be continued. One participant "neither agreed nor disagreed" with this statement.[312]

Further study of this generational grouping is needed to determine if these young participants do and will carry on Albanian traditions throughout the twenty-first century. Future studies comparing the second cohort of Fourth-Generation Albanian Americans with the fifth cohort of First Generation Albanian Americans would be particularly interesting, as these two age cohorts overlap.

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[309] 33.33% "strongly agreed," and 66.67% "agreed" that "we need stronger organizations to express the views of Albanian Americans." Data found in Table XXXV.

[310] Data found in Table XXXVII.

[311] Data found in Table XXXVIII.

[312] Data found in Table XLIII.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS ON THE HOLDING POWER OF ETHNICITY

Succinct examination of the survey and interview data both as a whole and by generation is necessary to determine which of the following models of assimilation, Anglo-Conformity, the Melting Pot, Cultural Pluralism, Acculturation but not Assimilation, the Triple Melting Pot, Symbolic Ethnicity, and Unhyphenated Whites, best describes each generation of this select community of contemporary Albanian Americans connected to St. George Cathedral in South Boston. Such analysis is also necessary to provide coherent description of ethnic, national, and religious attachments and degrees of assimilation across each generation of the community, and compare these to the attachments and degrees of assimilation to members of the same community thirty years prior, as studied in 1982 by Dennis Nagi. This chapter provides all conclusions based on the data compiled from the two-part questionnaire and supported from the interviews. Conclusions are not based on interview responses alone.

The chapter begins with discussion of trends that appear across the independent variable of generation. Special attention will be given to analysis of each generation by overall ethnicity scale score, the result of calculating a mean from participant response to cultural, religious, and national Likert items.[313] Ethnicity scale scores of each generation studied by Nagi will also be provided, allowing for comparisons of ethnic, national, and

[313] This process is described in detail both in Chapter 1 and at the beginning of Chapter 3.

religious attachments of each generation in this study to each generation of Nagi's population, respectively. Unfortunately, models of assimilation describing each generation cannot be compared to the generations of Nagi's population, as Nagi determined models of assimilation only for the community as a whole.

Second, this chapter provides conclusions on the models of assimilation adopted by each generation of contemporary Albanian Americans with ties to the Albanian Orthodox Church in Greater Boston. Each generation of this study will be analyzed in terms of the following models of assimilation: Anglo-Conformity, the Melting Pot, Cultural Pluralism, Acculturation but not Assimilation, the Triple Melting Pot, Symbolic Ethnicity, and Unhyphenated Whites.

Lastly, this chapter will discuss the contemporary population of Albanian Americans belonging to the Albanian Orthodox Church in Greater Boston as a whole, described from this point forward as "the community at large," exploring overall ethnicity scale score in the subcategories of cultural, religious, and national ethnicity.[314] This portion of the chapter will provide conclusions as to which models of assimilation best fit the community at large, and compare these ethnic, national, and religious attachments and degrees of assimilation to those of Nagi's population at large from thirty years ago. The chapter will conclude with questions raised by these conclusions and suggestions for future research.

[314] When described as "the community at large," the primary researcher is referring to all data collected from Likert items, not organized according to the independent variable of generation.

The Holding Power of Ethnicity: Analysis of the Community by Generation

Despite similar ethnicity scale scores across all four generational groupings, no ethnicity scale scores were identical. Thus, the data collected across the variable of generation indicate that within the Albanian Orthodox community of Greater Boston members of each generation may relate to ethnicity differently. Furthermore, trends appear across generational groupings that align with Nagi's previous research on the community of Albanian Americans connected to St. George Cathedral from thirty years ago. Analysis of this data across the independent variable of generation will determine which model of assimilation best describes each generation of respondents in this study.

The following data is compiled based on survey responses from all 67 participants. Each generation had over 6 survey participants and 3 interviewees except for the Fourth Generation, which included only 4 participants.[315] Tables discussed in this chapter are located in Appendix E, unless otherwise noted.

Ethnicity scale scores calculated from survey data show that ethnicity has a strong holding power on these contemporary Albanian Americans of St. George Cathedral, regardless of generational grouping. Ethnicity scale scores increase gradually from the First Generation to the Third Generation, but all scores remain below 3 and within 5% of

[315] As in Nagi's study, both the Second and Third Generations had the highest response rates. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 108.

each other.[316] These ethnicity scale scores show that commitment to ethnic identity exists within participants of all generations and ethnic continuity lessens slightly from the First to the Third Generation.[317]

Across all generations and all subcategories, ethnicity scale scores are lower than three, signifying continued attachment to ethnic values and traditions in each of the four generations studied. As all ethnicity scale scores indicate ethnic, national, and religious attachments among participants across all four generations, certain models of assimilation do not categorize any of the four generations. The following models of assimilation do not describe any of the generations within the Albanian American community tied to the Albanian Orthodox Church in Greater Boston: Anglo-Conformity, Acculturation but Not Assimilation, and Unhyphenated Whites.[318]

Survey data and interview responses from each generation will be analyzed to determine which of the remaining models of assimilation best describe each generation of the Albanian American community tied to the Albanian Orthodox Church in Greater Boston: the Melting Pot, the Triple Melting Pot, Cultural Pluralism, and Symbolic Ethnicity.

Both ethnicity scale score and survey data show that the model of assimilation of the Triple Melting Pot does not describe any of the four generations participating in this study. Cultural identity is the lowest ethnicity scale score in all of the generations save

[316] Ethnicity scale scores can range from 1 at the lowest, to 5 at the highest.

[317] This trend applies to the First, Second, and Third Generation, but not the Fourth. For the Fourth Generation, ethnicity scale score was the lowest, indicating a high level of ethnic commitment. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

[318] These models of assimilation categorize only populations in which ethnicity scale scores are higher than 3.

for the Fourth Generation, in which religious ethnicity holds the lowest score.[319] Multiple Albanians volunteered, unprompted, in their interviews that Albanian heritage supersedes religious affiliation, directly contradicting the principal tenant of the Triple Melting Pot: that religious affiliation supersedes ethnic identity. Additionally, the majority of participants (90.48%) are affiliated with the Albanian Orthodox Church, a religion not represented in the Triple Melting Pot model.[320] As a community best fitting the model of assimilation of the Triple Melting Pot would have a drastically lower ethnicity scale score for religious ethnicity, the First, Second, and Third Generation are not best described by this model of assimilation.

Though the Fourth Generation holds a low ethnicity scale score for religious identity, the Triple Melting Pot model of assimilation does not categorize this generation either. Members of this generation also reported as Albanian Orthodox in high numbers, with only one participant identifying as Catholic. Thus, the majority of Fourth Generation participants affiliate with a religion not accounted for in the model of assimilation of the Triple Melting Pot.[321]

Similarly, there was little indication of attitudes in keeping with the Melting Pot model of assimilation in any of the four generations studied. This model of assimilation calls for an increase in ethnicity scale score with each generation, a trend that continues

[319] Data found in Table XLVII.

[320] The model of assimilation, deemed the Triple Melting Pot, describes three major melting pots: Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism. Members of all four generations affiliate with the Albanian Orthodox church in high numbers. The Third Generation holds the largest religious diversity, with 12% (3) of their participants affiliating with a religion other than Albanian Orthodox. However, one of these three participants reporting a religious affiliation other than Albanian Orthodox (the Third-Generation participant identifying as "Other") explained their religious affiliation as "Non-practicing Orthodox Christian with Agnostic and Buddhist tendencies." Therefore, a significant majority of the contemporary Albanian American community is still affiliated with the Albanian Orthodox church. Data found in Table VII.

[321] Data found in Table VII.

only until the Fourth Generation, whose ethnicity scale score is lowest of them all.[322] Furthermore, this model of assimilation describes an ethnic group that has influence on the larger society, contributing traditions and values to the collective "melting pot." Interviewees described quite the opposite, in which the larger society is ignorant of the ethnic group as a whole. These interviewees explained their struggle to explain "Albanian Easter" as a child to their teachers and coaches. Other interviewees find it easier to explain their heritage and customs in light of the more visible ethnic group, the Greeks. The larger society's ignorance to the Albanian-American community proves the Melting Pot is an ill-fitting model of assimilation for each of these generations.

After careful analysis of survey data, ethnicity scale score, and interview responses, the following models of assimilation were eliminated as contenders to best describe each generation of the contemporary Albanian-American community of the Albanian Orthodox Church in Greater Boston: Anglo-Conformity, Acculturation but Not Assimilation, Unhyphenated Whites, the Melting Pot, and the Triple Melting Pot. The models of assimilation that may describe the generational groupings of study participants are: Cultural Pluralism and Symbolic Ethnicity. In addition to analysis of contemporary survey data and interview responses, ethnicity scale scores reported by each generation studied by Nagi in 1982 will contribute to establishing which of these two models of assimilation best describes each generational grouping.

Among Nagi's First-Generation participants, mean ethnicity scale score was a slightly higher than First-Generation participants of this study, at 2.2 (comprised of 2.1

[322] Data found in Table XLVII.

for religious ethnicity, 2.5 for national ethnicity, and 2.0 for cultural ethnicity).[323] Nagi's Second-Generation participants had an overall ethnicity scale score of 2.3, slightly higher than Nagi's First-Generation participants. Among Nagi's Second-Generation participants the lowest ethnicity scale scores were also found in religious and cultural ethnicity at 2.1, and the highest was national ethnicity at 2.6. The Third Generation of Nagi's study had a mean ethnicity scale score of 2.4, the highest of all generations studied by Nagi in 1982. The lowest ethnicity scale score among Nagi's Third-Generation participants is found in the subcategory of cultural ethnicity at 2.1, the second-highest at 2.4 for religious ethnicity, and the highest ethnicity scale score of 2.7 at national ethnicity.[324]

Ethnicity scale scores among generations remain within 5% of each other, a trend found both across generational groupings studied by Nagi in 1982 and across generational groupings studied now.[325] Additionally, all ethnicity scale scores from both studies, overall and within the three subcategories, are below 3, showing commitment to national, cultural, and religious ethnicity. Trends also show a small increase in ethnicity scale score from one generation to the next, which insinuates a declining ethnic continuity. Similarly, ethnicity scale scores for national identity are continually higher than scores for religious and cultural identity (of the three subcategories, cultural identity usually has the lowest ethnicity scale score). However, these trends only appear among First, Second, and Third-Generation participants. As Nagi studied no Fourth-Generation participants, contemporary Fourth-Generation participants of this study cannot be compared with data from Nagi's study.

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[323] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 148.

[324] Ibid., 148.

[325] This trend occurs even among Fourth-Generation participants, an outlier in other cases.

Though ethnicity scale scores for each generation are within 5% of each other, and similar to those of Nagi's participants, it must be recognized that a high commitment to ethnic identity can manifest itself in a variety of ways. It is even possible that each generation of the contemporary Albanian Americans of the Albanian Orthodox Church of the Greater Boston area may align with a different model of assimilation. While the similarities in ethnicity scale score among contemporary participants and Nagi's participants hint that Cultural Pluralism may be a model of assimilation that best categorizes these contemporary generational groupings, further analysis of ethnicity scale score, survey data, and interview responses is necessary. The following analysis will determine which of the following models of assimilation best describe each generation of the contemporary Albanian-American community of the Albanian Orthodox Church in Greater Boston: Cultural Pluralism or Symbolic Ethnicity.

The First Generation

Based on ethnicity scale score alone, two possible models of assimilation may best describe the First Generation Albanian-Americans of this study: Cultural Pluralism or Symbolic Ethnicity. To ascertain which of these two models best describes this generation I will analyze data from the two-part survey and participant interviews, and compare this data to Nagi's findings.

For the First-Generation, Albanian-American participants of the third, fourth, and fifth age cohort—those who immigrated to America post-1990—modes of assimilation

were similar to their predecessors, those belonging to the first and second age cohorts studied by Nagi. Ethnicity scale scores display this similarity well, as overall ethnicity scale score of contemporary First-Generation participants was 1.97 and of Nagi's participants was 2.2. Trends among the subcategories of religious, cultural, and national ethnicity were also apparent, with cultural ethnicity having the lowest score, religious ethnicity having the middle score, and national ethnicity having the highest score.[326] Furthermore, a significant portion of study participants, fourteen (21.54%) survey participants and six (31.57%) interviewees, belonged to the First Generation.[327] Participation in ethnic, national, and religious activities is a characteristic of populations best categorized by Cultural Pluralism.

Analysis of survey data and interview responses also show characteristics of Cultural Pluralism. Over 60% of First-Generation participants "agree" or "strongly agree" that an Albanian neighborhood is "a friendlier place to live," and many interviewees confirmed the sentiment that the tight-knit Albanian-American community of the Greater Boston area was a desirable place to live.[328] While interviewees recall learning the English language either before arrival in America or in American public schools, many describe speaking Albanian at home and in church. An overwhelming amount of First-Generation survey participants believe that their children should learn the Albanian language.[329]

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[326] See Table XLVII and Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 148.

[327] Results for survey participation by generation can be found in Table I.

[328] Data found in Table XXV.

[329] Data found in Table XXVI.

First-Generation interviewees also describe how their children participate in Sunday School and how they provide financial assistance to the Albanian Orthodox church. In addition to active participation in ethnic cultural and religious traditions and organizations, these interviewees also expressed sentiments such as love of their Albanian accent, and celebrating both birthdays and traditional, Albanian "name days," teaching the Albanian language and traditions to their children, cooking Albanian cuisine, and subscribing to Albanian newspapers and publications.

While the first and second-cohort First-Generation Albanian Americans of the early-twentieth century separated themselves from the host culture, particularly within Albanian neighborhoods, the contemporary Albanian Americans adapt their culture to the host culture through attaining high levels of education and entering a variety of careers.[330] Almost 50% of First-Generation participants married a non-Albanian spouse.[331] First-Generation interviewees did not describe themselves solely as Albanian, but instead dwelled on the complexity of loving their Albanian lifestyle with their American standard of living.

As Symbolic Ethnicity describes communities in which ethnicity is admired and cherished, though not actively practiced, this model of assimilation does not describe the First-Generation participants of this study. Thus, contemporary First-Generation Albanian Americans align most closely with Cultural Pluralism, maintaining aspects of and pride in their ethnicity while still belonging to aspects of the dominant culture.

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[330] Only one of the First-Generation survey participants did not complete a Bachelor's degree. This participant was a high school graduate of the equivalent (for example: GED). Full data for generational grouping of respondents by highest level of education can be found in Table VI. Data on occupations of First-Generation participants is taken from question 20, to which each participant input his or her career. To ensure participant confidentiality, this data cannot be shared.

[331] Data found in Table V.

The Second Generation

Based on ethnicity scale score alone, Cultural Pluralism or Symbolic Ethnicity may be the models of assimilation that best describe the Second-Generation participants of this study. In order to determine which of these two best categorizes this generation I will analyze both data from the two-part survey and participant interviews, as well as compare this to data from Nagi's Second-Generation participants.

As with the First Generation, Second-Generation participants in this study hold extremely similar ethnicity scale scores to Second-Generation participants in Nagi's 1982 study. Overall ethnicity scale score for Second-Generation respondents in this study is 2.29, and for Nagi's Second-Generation respondents is 2.3. Furthermore, in each of these populations ethnicity scale score in the subcategory of national ethnicity is the highest. While these similarities in ethnicity scale score suggest that Cultural Pluralism may best describe contemporary Second-Generation participants (as was true of Nagi's Second-Generation participants), further analysis of survey data and interview responses is necessary to draw a conclusion on models of assimilation among respondents of this generation.

Despite growing up in a multi-ethnic environment, one second-cohort interviewee described feeling more fortunate than other children due to her family's practice of Albanian holidays and traditions. Second-Generation interviewees also described their participation in the Albanian Orthodox church, whether through attendance at Sunday mass, singing in the church choir, or attending social events put on by St. George's. Such

dedication to participation within the church suggests that Cultural Pluralism best categorizes this generation. The only reason given by first-cohort interviewees for lack of church attendance was the difficulty of traveling so far at an older age, which does not show a decline in ethnic continuity so much as physical inability to participate in ethnic events.

Similarly, though Second-Generation participants were less likely to desire marriage to an Albanian spouse, 50% of respondents married within the Albanian-American community. Interviewees elucidated two major motives for marrying an Albanian spouse: to please their parents and to continue Albanian traditions with their children. Despite voicing opinions that they were coerced into many Albanian traditions, religious observations, and cultural events by their parents, this generation is equally appreciative of their experiences in the Albanian-American community. In addition to their love of Albanian ethnic traditions and values, the Second-Generation participated in the survey in high numbers, 21 survey responses (32.31% of the total) and 6 interviews (31.57% of the total).

Symbolic Ethnicity does not accurately describe the Second-Generation community in this study, due to their active participation in and love for their heritage, customs, and traditions. Thus, the Second Generation aligns with the model of assimilation of Cultural Pluralism. Second-Generation participants in this study maintain cultural, religious, and national ethnicity while belonging to and appreciating aspects of the dominant culture.

The Third Generation

Despite having the highest ethnicity scale score, these participants also had the highest response rate of the generational groupings, 25 survey participants, seven (36.84% of the total) interviewees.[332] Additionally, ethnicity scale scores of these Third-Generation participants mirror those of Nagi's Third-Generation participants, overall scores being 2.38 and 2.4, respectively. Once again, scores are also lowest in cultural ethnicity, slightly higher in religious ethnicity, and highest in national ethnicity.[333] Both the Third Generation's high level of participation and similar ethnicity scale scores to Nagi's Third-Generation participants, suggest that the model of assimilation of Cultural Pluralism may also best categorize this generational grouping.

While many Third-Generation participants grew up in multi-ethnic neighborhoods numerous interviewees expressed their active resolve to socialize with other Albanian-Americans more frequently. Many Third-Generation participants taught themselves the history and language of their ancestors, while succeeding in education and their careers. Additionally, Third-Generation participants enthusiastically describe how they continue Albanian traditions and cuisine at home. Two of these Third-Generation interviewees even belong to the executive board of major Albanian national organizations, while others participate regularly describing commitment to their heritage.

[332] Data for the mean age of my survey participants can be found in Table II. As the Third-Generation participants were significantly younger, with a mean age of 30.16, Nagi's study drew no clear conclusions about this generation as a whole. Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 105-106, 110.

[333] Ibid., 148; Data found in Table XLVII.

Third-Generation participants also exhibited a deep, thoughtful understanding of the complexity of ethnicity. They described how they can thrive within the larger American culture while continuing Albanian traditions, belonging to national organizations, and volunteering their time, talents, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox Church. Some even travel to Albania regularly. Third-Generation interviewees also expressed the desire for their children to attend Sunday School at St. George's Cathedral, and even to, someday, marry in the Albanian Orthodox Church.

Despite success in the larger society, Third-Generation participants are too actively engaged with their cultural, religious, and national ethnicity to be described by the model of assimilation of Symbolic Ethnicity. Thus, the contemporary Third Generation most closely aligns with the model of assimilation of Cultural Pluralism.

The Fourth Generation

Data on models of assimilation best describing the Fourth Generation is largely inconclusive due to the extremely low response rate of only four survey participants and no interviewees.[334] Data analysis on models of assimilation among Fourth-Generation participants follows, though this analysis does not represent the whole of the Fourth-Generation, Albanian-American community of the Albanian Orthodox Church in Greater Boston. Additionally, no comparisons can be drawn to Fourth-Generation participants of 1982, as Nagi's study did not have any Fourth-Generation participants.

[334] Data found in Table XLVII.

To the few Fourth Generation participants who feel a strong connection to their Albanian ethnicity, the connection is extremely strong. These participants desire strong Albanian cultural, national, and religious centers and want the Albanian-American youth to carry on these traditions. Ironically, it appears there are no other Fourth-Generation Albanian Americans with which to accomplish these goals. A general lack of participation from this generational group, particularly noticeable in the complete absence of Fourth-Generation interviewees, demonstrates that not many Fourth-Generation Albanian Americans actively engage in the Albanian-American community of Greater Boston. Their connection to ethnicity is, thus, symbolic—a love for their people and traditions, but lack of participation in this world.[335]

Lack of Fourth-Generation participation, combined with the curiously low mean ethnicity scores from these three participants, categorizes the Fourth Generation of Albanian-Americans as closely aligned with the model of Symbolic Ethnicity. However, small participation numbers within this generation prevent these findings from being representative of the current Fourth-Generation community of Albanian-Americans with ties to the Albanian Orthodox Church of Greater Boston. Additionally, the young age of half of these participants may prevent them from being established financially, geographically, or in their career. Further study on this group is recommended, particularly as those of the second age cohort reach middle age.

[335] Gans, 9-10.

The Holding Power of Ethnicity: Analysis of the Community at Large

Across the contemporary Albanian-American community with ties to the Albanian Orthodox Church of Greater Boston, ethnic continuity remains strong. To determine models of assimilation across the community at large, ethnicity scale scores were calculated in each of the three subcategories (national, cultural, religious identity) across no independent variable. Ethnicity scale score, as calculated in this study, ranges from 1-5, where a score between 1 and 3 shows strong ethnic continuity, and a score between 3 and 5 illustrates a decline in ethnic continuity.

This data revealed that ethnicity scale score remained below three, in each of the three subcategories: 2.36 for national identity, 1.95 for cultural identity, and 2.14 for religious identity.[336] These low ethnicity scale scores prove that survey respondents, regardless of generation, persist in their attachment to ethnic values and traditions.

Ethnicity scale scores among Nagi's participants of 1982 also showed high ethnic continuity through low ethnicity scale scores across each of these three subcategories. Among Nagi's participants, ethnicity scale scores were as follows: 2.6 for national ethnicity, for 2.2 religious ethnicity, and 2.07 for cultural ethnicity. Similarly to the contemporary community of Albanian-Americans connected to the Albanian Orthodox Church in South Boston, all ethnicity scale scores of respondents to Nagi's survey are all below three. Other trends appear, as well. Among both Nagi's community of 1982 and this study's population, the highest ethnicity scale score was found in the subcategory of national ethnicity and the lowest ethnicity scale score in the subcategory of cultural

[336] Data found in Table LXXI.

ethnicity.[337] Based on these low ethnicity scale scores Nagi described his community of 1982 as being best described by the model of Cultural Pluralism.

In order to determine models of assimilation among the Albanian-American community connected to St. George Cathedral of South Boston, however, further analysis of survey data and interview responses is necessary. As no mean ethnicity scale scores of the community at large were higher than 3, certain models of assimilation do not describe these Albanian Americans, among whom ethnicity persists. Because the models of assimilation of Anglo-Conformity, Acculturation but Not Assimilation, and Unhyphenated Whites best categorize ethnic groups with limited or declining ethnic continuity, they do not categorize the community at large.

Interview responses of today's participants have also revealed that the model of Unhyphenated Whites does not describe the community at large. In this model of assimilation members of the community share a common European immigrant heritage, but see themselves as American. Conversely, the majority of study participants, responded to the following interview question, "Do you think of yourself as Albanian, American, or something else?" by answering "Albanian," "Albanian-American" or with some other fusion of the two. Only two of nineteen interviewees (one first cohort Second Generation and the other fifth cohort First Generation) replied "American." Furthermore, one of these two respondents displayed hesitance in answering, saying, "I guess American." As participants express attitudes contrary to having a shared European immigrant heritage as Americans, the model of Unhyphenated Whites does not describe the community at large.

Though the Triple Melting Pot model of assimilation also categorizes ethnic

[337] Nagi, "Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group," 148.

groups where ethnicity scale score is lower than three, this model does not describe the community at large. For the model of assimilation the Triple Melting Pot, religion replaces ethnicity for members of the community, making cultural or national ties void. This would show, in ethnicity scale score, as a religious identity score lower than three and significantly lower than the scores for cultural and national identity.[338] As the Albanian Americans in my study have a lower ethnicity scale score for cultural identity than they do for religious ethnicity, this suggests that the community at large has not replaced their traditions, nationality, and culture with religion. In addition, the data shows that 90.48% of Albanian Americans in this study not surprisingly describe their religious affiliation as Albanian Orthodox.[339]

In my study, there was little indication of attitudes in keeping with the Melting Pot Model. Ethnicity scale scores aligning with the Melting Pot model would show a rise in ethnicity scale score across generations, as community members' ethnic continuity fades and community members assimilate to the larger society.[340] Because this model of assimilation must be analyzed based on trends across the independent variable of generation, it will be discussed later in the chapter. It cannot be determined if the Melting Pot model of assimilation describes this community at large based only on ethnicity scale score of the community at large.

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[338] A significantly lower score would be a score at least 20% (or one whole number) lower than scores for cultural or national ties. In this model of assimilation, cultural and national identity may have ethnicity scale scores anywhere between 1 and 5, but the scores would be significantly higher than that of religious identity.

[339] Data found in Table LXXVI.

[340] Additionally, this model of assimilation calls for the ethnic group to influence the larger society, contributing their cultural, national, and religious values to the society as a whole. Unfortunately, ethnicity scale score alone cannot determine if members of the larger society have adopted cultural, national, and religious values of the Albanian American community with ties to the Albanian Orthodox Church of Greater Boston.

After determining that Anglo-Conformity, Acculturation but Not Assimilation, Unhyphenated Whites, and the Triple Melting Pot are models of assimilation that do not describe the community at large,[341] analysis of the two remaining models of Cultural Pluralism and Symbolic Ethnicity is necessary. This further analysis was not necessary for Nagi when analyzing his community of 1982, as he did not analyze data against the model of assimilation of Symbolic Ethnicity.

Given the similarities between overall ethnicity scale scores among participants in my study and participants in Nagi's, analysis of ethnicity scale score points toward Cultural Pluralism as the model of assimilation that can best categorize the contemporary community of Albanian-Americans connected to St. George Cathedral in South Boston. Additionally, as three of the four generational groups in this study are best categorized as Cultural Pluralism, the majority of interviewee responses also aligns with the tenants of Cultural Pluralism. Lastly, the Fourth Generation being best categorized by Symbolic Ethnicity is not a factor in analysis of the community at large, as data from this generation is limited in scope and inconclusive regarding models of assimilation.

Ultimately, the model of assimilation of Cultural Pluralism best describes the contemporary community of Albanian Americans attached to the Albanian Orthodox Church in the Greater Boston area. Cultural Pluralism best categorizes these participants as they incorporate Albanian cultural, religious, and/or national ethnic practices into daily life, as opposed to having solely a nostalgic attachment to ethnic heritage. Additionally, participants of all generations are active participants in the larger American society, having chosen numerous career paths, marrying outside the ethnicity, and even feeling

[341] The model of assimilation of the Melting Pot can neither be confirmed nor denied as befitting the community at large, based on ethnicity scale score alone. The relevance of this model of assimilation will be discussed more during analysis across the independent variable of generation.

proud to consider America home.

Questions Raised and Call for Future Research

Despite determining models of assimilation that best categorize the First, Second, and Third Generation of contemporary Albanian Americans belonging to the Albanian Orthodox Church in the Greater Boston area, no conclusions were made regarding models of assimilation among the Fourth Generation because of low participation. Future research is necessary on this generation and their participation in the Albanian Orthodox Church, as well as other Albanian cultural, national, and religious associations.

Study of the future descendants of this community is also necessary. As the contemporary third, fourth, and fifth cohort First-Generation Albanian Americans have children and grandchildren, study of these Albanian Americans will allow for comparison to the Second and Third-Generation Albanian of this and Nagi's study. As these Albanian Americans are born and come of age, this research can ask if these Albanian-Americans belonging to the St. George Cathedral in Greater Boston exhibit similar models of assimilation as their predecessors.

Further research is also necessary about the degree to which the Albanian American community as connected to the Albanian Orthodox Church in Greater Boston compares to the Albanian American community at large. Are models of assimilation similar or different among non-Orthodox Albanian Americans? Are models of assimilation similar or different among Orthodox Albanian Americans living in other

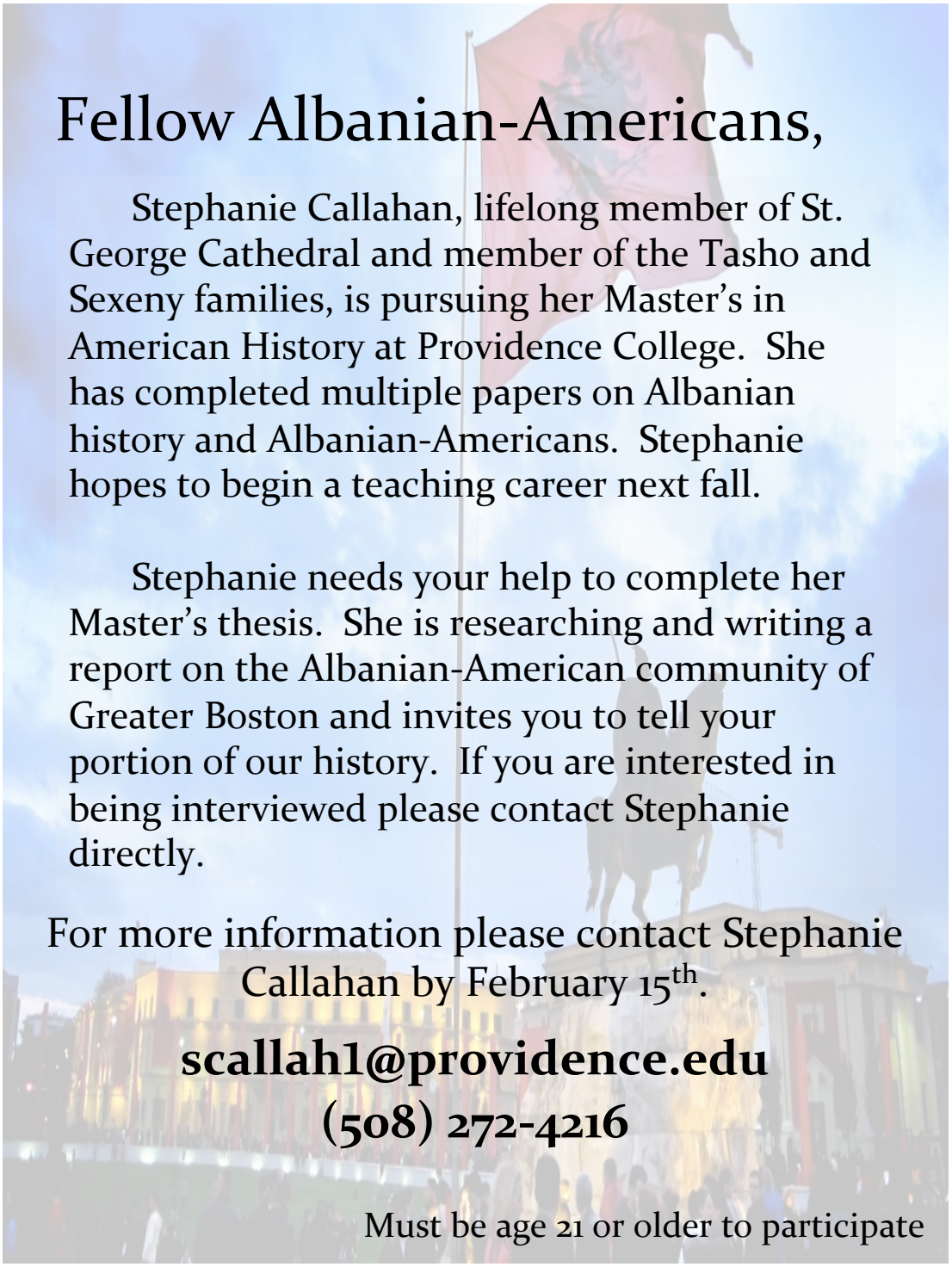
cities and states of America? Are models of assimilation similar or different among Albanian Orthodox Albanian emigrants living in nations other than the United States, Canada for instance?

Lastly, research that compares models of assimilation among Albanian Americans of the Albanian Orthodox Church in the Greater Boston area to other small, lesser-known ethnic groups is lacking. Comparative studies may determine if smaller, lesser-known ethnic groups exhibit similar models of assimilation.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT TOOLS

IMAGE 1:



CONTACT E-MAIL 1:

Stephanie Callahan, lifelong member of Saint George Cathedral, is currently working on her Master's in American History at Providence College. She is looking for participation in a short electronic survey from Albanian-Americans from or currently living in the Greater Boston area. Please read her message below.

Fellow Albanian-Americans,

Your participation thus far has been a great help to me in completing research for my Master's thesis. Your survey responses and interviews are a wealth of information and it has been wonderful getting closer with so many members of our congregation and its larger community.

For those of you who have not yet completed the survey, I would like to ask a few minutes of your time. Your responses will remain completely confidential and no names will be used in my paper. Please click the link below to participate in my survey.
https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/albanianamericanquestionnaire

If you have any questions do not hesitate to e-mail me at scallah1@providence.edu.

Best,

Stephanie

Stephanie Callahan
Providence College '11
Graduate Student – American History
scallah1@providence.edu

CONTACT E-MAIL 2:

Hello _____,

I am pleased to hear of your interest in helping me with my research on our community of Greater Boston. Thank you for volunteering your time to help me complete this project.

My thesis will compile a number of interviews and surveys from various members of the church. I am hoping to capture a variety of experience through different Albanian-Americans of various generations, ages, occupations, educational background, etc. If you would be willing to sit with me for an interview (of about one hour in length), partake in the short electronic survey, or both please let me know. I will, of course, be willing to travel to you or meet at a convenient coffee shop for the interview.

I will be happy to explain more or answer any questions you have before you commit to participation in an interview or survey. Your interest is much appreciated. I can also be reached by phone at (508) 272-4216.

Best,

Stephanie

Stephanie Callahan
Providence College '11
Graduate Student – American History
scallah1@providence.edu

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT
Providence College

Do Traditional Models of Assimilation Still Apply?

Models of Assimilation of Albanian-Americans in the Greater Boston Area in the 20th and 21st Centuries

You are being asked to participate in a research study about the Albanian-American community of Greater Boston. You were selected as a possible participant because of your ties with St. George Cathedral parish and because you expressed desire to participate. Please read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to participate in the research.

Researchers from Providence College are conducting this study.

Background Information
The purpose of this research is to discover the mode of assimilation which best applies to the Albanian-American community of Greater Boston.

Procedures
If you agree to be a participant in this research, we would ask you to do the following things:

- If at any point in the interview or survey you do not feel comfortable answering a question, do not do so.
- If at any point in the interview or survey you no longer feel like participating, please inform Stephanie of your wishes and she will honor your request to withdraw.

Risks and Benefits to Being in the Study
There are no potential physical risks to being in the study. If you foresee that answering a particular question will make you uncomfortable, please tell Stephanie that you do not feel comfortable answering the question.

The benefits of participation are reminiscing on both your childhood and your adult participation in the Albanian-American community of Greater Boston. Personally, you may experience a renewed affection for your community.

The project will also benefit the Albanian-American community at large, increasing our visibility in the fields of history and sociology.

Confidentiality

The records of this research will be kept private. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a participant. Research records will be kept in a locked electronic file, and access will be limited to the researchers, the college review board responsible for protecting human participants, and regulatory agencies. The original data will be destroyed within one year of the study's completion. There will be no video or audio taping of the interviews. No photographs will be taken.

Voluntary Nature of the Study

Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, it will not affect your current or future relations with the Providence College or St. George Cathedral. There is no penalty or loss of benefits for not participating or for discontinuing your participation. After your interview you will have a chance to read the typed transcript. If you would like to withdraw participation after having read the transcript, or for any other reason, please let me know at your earliest convenience.

Contacts and Questions

The researcher conducting this study is Stephanie Callahan. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have any questions later, you may contact her by phone at (508) 272-4216, or by e-mail at scallah1@providence.edu.

If the researcher cannot be reached, or if you would like to talk to someone other than the researcher about (1) concerns regarding this study, (2) research participant rights, (3) research-related injuries, or (4) other human subjects issues, please contact the Chair of the Providence College Institutional Review Board (IRB). Contact information for the IRB Chair can be obtained from the Office of Academic Affairs (Provost), Harkins 208, (401) 865-2195 or irb@providence.edu.

You will be given a copy of this form for your records.

Statement of Consent

I have read the above information. I have received answers to the questions I have asked. I consent to participate in this research. I am at least 18 years of age.

Print Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX C: SURVEYMONKEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I: Demographic Questions (34 questions)

1. (Optional) What is your name?

_____

2. What is your gender?
- Female
- Male
- Other (please specify) _____

3. In what year were you born?

_____

4. In what city, state, and country were you born?

_____

5. In what city, state, and country were your parents born?

_____

6. In what city, state, and country were your grandparents born?

_____

7. In what city were you raised (or which city did you spend the most time between the ages of 5-18)?

_____

8. In what city were your parents raised (or which city did they spend the most time between the ages of 5-18)?

_____

9. In what city were your grandparents raised (or which city did they spend the most time between the ages of 5-18)?

_____

10. I am….

- First Generation (born in Albania)
- Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)
- Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)
- Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)

If First Generation, please answer questions 11-13. Otherwise, please continue at question 14.

11. What year did you immigrate to America?

_____

12. How old were you when you immigrated to America?

_____

13. Did you identify with any religious tradition while in Albania? If so, which?

_____

14. In what city do you currently live?

_____

15. How long have you lived in your present community?

_____

16. Have you ever lived outside of Massachusetts? If so, for how long?

_____

17. (Optional) At present, do you own your home?

_____

18. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

_____

19. What is the highest level of education your father completed? Your mother?

Father: _____

Mother: _____

20. What is your current occupation?

_____

21. What was your occupation ten years ago?

_____

22. What is or was your father's occupation? Your mother's?
Father: _____
Mother: _____

23. What is your religious affiliation, if any?
- Albanian Orthodox
- Any branch of Eastern Orthodox
- Catholic
- Protestant
- Muslim
- Not religious
- Other (please specify) _____

24. (Optional) In which of these groups did your total income fall last year?
- $10,000 to $19,999
- $20,000 to $39,999
- $40,000 to $99,999
- $100,000 to $199,999
- Over $200,000

25. In which social class do you think you belong?
- Lower Class
- Working Class
- Middle Class
- Upper-middle Class
- Upper Class

26. Do/Did your parents ever express a preference as to the kind of person you should marry?
- Yes
- No

27. If yes, circle as many responses as apply:
- They preferred someone of the same nationality
- They preferred someone of the same religion
- They preferred someone from the same village/region in Albania
- They preferred someone with a good personality
- They preferred someone with a good financial standing
- Other, please explain: _____

28. When dating, which of the following factors were or are important to you? Select as many responses as apply:
- I preferred someone of the same nationality
- I preferred someone of the same religion
- I preferred someone from the same village/region in Albania
- I preferred someone with a good personality
- I preferred someone with a good financial standing
- Other, please explain: _____

29. What is your current marital status?
- Married
- Widowed
- Divorced or separated
- Never married

If married or ever married, please answer questions 30-34:

30. What is the highest level of education your spouse has completed?

_____

31. What is your spouse's occupation?

_____

32. What is or was your spouse's occupation when you were first married?

_____

33. What is the ethnicity of your spouse?

_____

34. What is the religious affiliation of your spouse, if any?

- Albanian Orthodox
- Any branch of Eastern Orthodox
- Catholic
- Protestant
- Muslim
- Not religious
- Other (please specify) _____

Part II: Albanian-American Lifestyle on a Likert-scale (21 items)

Please select the most appropriate response for how you feel about each of the following statements:

Strongly agree---Agree---Neither Agree nor Disagree---Disagree---Strongly Disagree
1 2 3 4 5

1. An Albanian neighborhood is a friendlier place to live
2. Our children should learn to speak Albanian
3. I feel more comfortable in an Albanian Orthodox Church
4. You should belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church even if it is located far from your home
5. It is important for me to contribute my time, talents, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox Church
6. Albanian Orthodox religious education is important for our children
7. Regular church attendance is important for us all
8. Our children should learn Albanian dances
9. The Albanian Orthodox religious tradition helps to strengthen my family life
10. I prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language
11. We need stronger organizations to express the views of Albanian-Americans
12. Organizations which carry on the Albanian culture are important
13. We should be willing to give money to preserve the Albanian tradition
14. The Albanian tradition should be carried on by our young people
15. We need centers where our young people can learn about Albanian culture
16. We need to know the history of the Albanian people
17. The public schools should teach more about Albania and Albanian-Americans
18. Albanian music makes me want to dance
19. Albanian newspapers and publications need to be continued
20. I feel more comfortable with Albanian people
21. If you are in trouble, you can count on Albanian people to help you

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Childhood Reflections:

1. You have described your neighborhood growing up as (mostly Albanian/mixed/mostly American or multi-ethnic). Did you like or dislike growing up in this setting? Why?

2. Because of your involvement with (Albanians/Americans/mixed ethnicities) did you feel more or less fortunate than other children? Why?

3. Where did you first attend school?

4. Did you learn about Albania in school?

5. Did you socialize with more (American/Albanian) children? Did you ever wish to socialize more with (Albanian/American) children?

6. To what extent were you aware of your Albanian heritage?

7. Did you ever feel proud of or embarrassed by your Albanian heritage?

8. Were there any obstacles you had to overcome due to ethnic barriers? Language in particular?

Involvement in Ethnic Structures:

1. How long have you been a member at St. George Cathedral?

2. Did you attend church as a child?

3. Did you attend Sunday School as a child?

4. Did you learn about Albania through Sunday School, social programs put on by the church, family members or not at all?

If interviewee is a First Generation American, I will ask questions 5-12.

5. Were you excited to leave Albania? Why or why not?

6. What were you looking forward to about America?

7. Did you feel that America lived up to your expectations?

8. In what ways did American life differ from life in Albania?

9. In what ways did American life surprise you?

10. In Albania did you identify with any religious tradition? If so, which?

11. How did you express or practice this religion?

12. Upon arriving to America did you join St. George to practice your faith, to meet fellow Albanians, to immerse yourself in Albanian culture or all of the above?

13. What church organizations do you belong to?

14. How long have you belonged to these organizations?

15. Was there any particular reason you joined these organizations?

16. Are you more likely to attend the church's religious services or social programs?

17. What could St. George Cathedral do to increase your attendance at religious or social programs?

18. Please tell me about any Albanian-American societies, clubs, political organizations, newspapers, language programs, dance troops, or otherwise, to which you belong.

19. How long have you belonged to these organizations?

20. Was there any particular reason you joined these organizations?

21. Where do you currently work?

22. Why did you choose this profession?

23. In your current job, do you work with other Albanian-Americans?

24. At any point in your life, did you obtain employment through an Albanian network?

25. If you were hiring a colleague, would you be more likely to hire an Albanian-American?

26. Do you read Albanian newspapers and publications?

27. Do you currently read or speak Albanian?

28. Have you ever been involved in civic or state government? National government?

29. Have you ever been in the military in Albania or America? Why?

30. Have you ever been a member of the armed forces?

31. Do you think of yourself as Albanian, American, or something else?

Dating/Marriage

1. Was finding a spouse of Albanian heritage important to you? Was it important to your family?

2. Do you have children?

3. Was it important to you that they learn the Albanian language and traditions? Why or why not?

4. Do you have anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX E: PRESENTATION OF DATA

Table I

RESPONSE RATE BY GENERATION

Answer Choices	Responses	
First Generation (born in Albania)	**21.54%**	14
Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**32.31%**	21
Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**40.00%**	26
Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**6.15%**	4
Total		**65**

Table II

MEAN AGE OF RESPONDENTS BY GENERATION

	Mean Age	Total
First Generation (born in Albania)	**42.14**	**14**
Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**74.3**	**21**
Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**54.92**	**25**
Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**35.25**	**4**

Table III

GENERATIONAL GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY GENDER

	Female	Male	Other (please specify)	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**35.71%** 5	**64.29%** 9	**0.00%** 0	14
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**57.14%** 12	**42.86%** 9	**0.00%** 0	21
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**61.54%** 16	**38.46%** 10	**0.00%** 0	26
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**100.00%** 4	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	4
Total Respondents	37	28	0	65

Table IV

GENERATIONAL GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY MARITAL STATUS

	Married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Never married	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**69.23%** 9	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**30.77%** 4	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**70.00%** 14	**25.00%** 5	**5.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	20
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**60.00%** 15	**0.00%** 0	**16.00%** 4	**24.00%** 6	25
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**25.00%** 1	**75.00%** 3	4
Total Respondents	38	5	6	13	62

Table V

GENERATIONAL GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY MARRIAGE TO AN ALBANIAN OR NON-ALBANIAN SPOUSE

	Albanian Spouse	Non-Albanian Spouse
First Generation (born in Albania)	**55.56%** 5	**44.44%** 4
Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**50.00%** 7	**50.00%** 7
Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**6.67%** 1	**93.33%** 14
Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**No married respondents**	**No married respondents**

Table VI

GENERATIONAL GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	No schooling completed	**Grammar School (K-8)**	**Some high school, no diploma**	**High school graduate, diploma, or the equivalent (for example GED)**	**Trade, technical, vocational training**
First Generation (born in Albania)	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**7.69%** 1	**0.00%** 0
Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**4.76%** 1	**19.05%** 4	**0.00%** 0
Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**4.00%** 1
Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**5**	**1**

Table VI

GENERATIONAL GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION, CONTINUED

	Some college credit, no degree	Associate degree	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Professional degree	Doctorate degree	Total
First Generation (born in Albania)	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**46.15%** 6	**23.08%** 3	**7.69%** 1	**15.38%** **2**	**13**
Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**19.05%** 4	**9.52%** 2	**19.05%** 4	**23.81%** 5	**0.00%** 0	**4.76%** **1**	**21**
Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**4.00%** 1	**8.00%** 2	**44.00%** 11	**20.00%** 5	**4.00%** 1	**16.00%** **4**	**25**
Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**25.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**25.00%** 1	**25.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**25.00%** **1**	**4**
Total	**6**	**4**	**22**	**14**	**2**	**8**	**63**

Table VII

GENERATIONAL GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS CATEGORIZED BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Albanian Orthodox	Any branch of Eastern Orthodox	Catholic	Protestant	Muslim	Not religious	Other (please specify)	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**92.31%** 12	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**7.69%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**95.24%** 20	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**4.76%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	21
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**88.00%** 22	**4.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**4.00%** 1	**4.00%** 1	25
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**75.00%** 3	**0.00%** 0	**25.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	4
Total Respondents	57	1	1	1	1	1	1	63

Table VIII

GENERATIONAL GROUPING OF PATICIPANTS BY RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION, "AT PRESENT, DO YOU OWN YOUR OWN HOME?"

	Yes	No	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**66.67%** 8	**33.33%** 4	12
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**90.48%** 19	**9.52%** 2	21
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**84.00%** 21	**16.00%** 4	25
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**50.00%** 2	**50.00%** 2	4
Total Respondents	50	12	62

Table IX

DO/DID YOUR PARENTS EVER EXPRESS A PREFERENCE AS TO THE KIND OF PERSON YOU SHOULD MARRY?

	Yes	No	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**61.54%** 8	**38.46%** 5	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**76.19%** 16	**23.81%** 5	21
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**40.00%** 10	**60.00%** 15	25
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**25.00%** 1	**75.00%** 3	4
Total Respondents	35	28	63

Table X

IF YES, SELECT AS MANY RESPONSES AS APPLY.

	They preferred someone of the same nationality	They preferred someone of the same religion	They preferred someone from the same village/region in Albania	They preferred someone with a good personality	They preferred someone with a good financial standing	Other (please specify)	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**62.50%** 5	**75.00%** 6	**0.00%** 0	**75.00%** 6	**25.00%** 2	**0.00%** 0	19
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**86.67%** 13	**66.67%** 10	**6.67%** 1	**26.67%** 4	**26.67%** 4	**26.67%** 4	36
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**70.00%** 7	**30.00%** 3	**0.00%** 0	**50.00%** 5	**50.00%** 5	**20.00%** 2	22
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 1	**100.00%** 1	**100.00%** 1	3
Total Respondents	25	19	1	16	12	7	34

Table XI

WHEN DATING, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING FACTORS WERE OR ARE IMPORTANT TO YOU? SELECT AS MANY RESPONSES AS APPLY.

	I preferred someone of the same nationality	I preferred someone of the same religion	I preferred someone from the same village/region in Albania	I preferred someone with a good personality	I preferred someone with a good financial standing	Other (please specify)	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**38.46%** 5	**23.08%** 3	**7.69%** 1	**84.62%** 11	**23.08%** 3	**7.69%** 1	24
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**25.00%** 5	**20.00%** 4	**0.00%** 0	**80.00%** 16	**40.00%** 8	**40.00%** 8	41
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**12.00%** 3	**24.00%** 6	**0.00%** 0	**88.00%** 22	**24.00%** 6	**20.00%** 5	42
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**50.00%** 2	**50.00%** 2	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 4	**75.00%** 3	**0.00%** 0	11
Total Respondents	15	15	1	53	20	14	62

Table XII

GENERATIONAL GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY LANGUAGE

PREFERENCE FOR RELIGIOUS SERVICES

I prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**30.77%** 4	**30.77%** 4	**23.08%** 3	**15.38%** 2	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**5.56%** 1	**16.67%** 3	**22.22%** 4	**50.00%** 9	**5.56%** 1	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**12.50%** 3	**54.17%** 13	**33.33%** 8	**0.00%** 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**33.33%** 1	**33.33%** 1	**33.33%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	3

Table XIII

GENERATIONAL GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Lower Class	Working Class	Middle Class	Upper-middle Class	Upper Class	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**0.00%** 0	**7.69%** 1	**53.85%** 7	**38.46%** 5	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**0.00%** 0	**4.76%** 1	**76.19%** 16	**19.05%** 4	**0.00%** 0	21
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**4.00%** 1	**12.00%** 3	**40.00%** 10	**40.00%** 10	**4.00%** 1	25
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**50.00%** 2	**25.00%** 1	**25.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	4
Total Respondents	1	7	34	20	1	63

Table XIV

RESPONSE RATE BY CLASS

Answer Choices	Responses	
Lower Class	**1.59%**	1
Working Class	**11.11%**	7
Middle Class	**53.97%**	34
Upper-middle Class	**31.75%**	20
Upper Class	**1.59%**	1
Total		**63**

Table XV

MEAN AGE OF RESPONDENTS BY CLASS

	Mean Age	Total
Lower Class	67.00	1
Working Class	47.14	7
Middle Class	61.67	34
Upper-middle Class	55.15	20
Upper Class	58.00	1

Table XVI

CLASS GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY GENDER

	Female	Male	Other (please specify)	Total
Q25: Lower Class	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	1
Q25: Working Class	**85.71%** 6	**14.29%** 1	**0.00%** 0	7
Q25: Middle Class	**55.88%** 19	**44.12%** 15	**0.00%** 0	34
Q25: Upper-middle Class	**50.00%** 10	**50.00%** 10	**0.00%** 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	1
Total Respondents	36	27	0	63

Table XVII

CLASS GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY MARITAL STATUS

	Married	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Never married	Total
Q25: Lower Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	1
Q25: Working Class	**28.57%** 2	**0.00%** 0	**28.57%** 2	**42.86%** 3	7
Q25: Middle Class	**60.61%** 20	**12.12%** 4	**3.03%** 1	**24.24%** 8	33
Q25: Upper-middle Class	**75.00%** 15	**5.00%** 1	**10.00%** 2	**10.00%** 2	20
Q25: Upper Class	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	1
Total Respondents	38	5	6	13	62

Table XVIII

CLASS GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY MARRIAGE TO ALBANIAN OR NON-ALBANIAN SPOUSE

	Albanian Spouse	Non-Albanian Spouse
Lower Class	**No married respondents**	**No married respondents**
Working Class	**50.00%** 1	**50.00%** 1
Middle Class	**45.00%** 9	**55.00%** 11
Upper-middle Class	**20.00%** 3	**80.00%** 12
Upper Class	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 1

Table XIX

CLASS GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	No schooling completed	**Grammar School (K-8)**	**Some high school, no diploma**	**High school graduate, diploma, or the equivalent (for example GED)**	**Trade, technical, vocational training**
Lower Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0
Working Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**14.29%** 1	**14.29%** 1
Middle Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**2.94%** 1	**11.76%** 4	**0.00%** 0
Upper-middle Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0
Upper Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0
	0	**0**	**1**	**5**	**1**

Table XX

CLASS GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION, CONTINUED

	Some college credit, no degree	**Associate degree**	**Bachelor's degree**	**Master's degree**	**Professional degree**	**Doctorate degree**	**Total**
Lower Class	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**1**
Working Class	**14.29%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**42.86%** 3	**14.29%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**7**
Middle Class	**8.82%** 3	**11.76%** 4	**29.41%** 10	**20.59%** 7	**5.88%** 2	**8.82%** 3	**34**
Upper-middle Class	**5.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**45.00%** 9	**25.00%** 5	**0.00%** 0	**25.00%** 5	**20**
Upper Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**1**
	6	**4**	**22**	**14**	**2**	**8**	**63**

Table XXI

CLASS GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Albanian Orthodox	Any branch of Eastern Orthodox	Catholic	Protestant	Muslim	Not religious	Other (please specify)	Total
Q25: Lower Class	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	1
Q25: Working Class	**71.43%** 5	**14.29%** 1	**14.29%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	7
Q25: Middle Class	**97.06%** 33	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**2.94%** 1	34
Q25: Upper-middle Class	**85.00%** 17	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**5.00%** 1	**5.00%** 1	**5.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	1
Total Respondents	57	1	1	1	1	1	1	63

Table XXII

CLASS GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS BY LANGUAGE PREFERENCE FOR RELIGIOUS SERVICES

I prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	1
Q25: Working Class	**16.67%** 1	**16.67%** 1	**16.67%** 1	**50.00%** 3	**0.00%** 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	**13.33%** 4	**20.00%** 6	**30.00%** 9	**36.67%** 11	**0.00%** 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	**5.00%** 1	**20.00%** 4	**50.00%** 10	**20.00%** 4	**5.00%** 1	20
Q25: Upper Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	1

Table XXIII

IN WHICH CITY DO YOU CURRENTLY RESIDE?

City	Number of respondents
Belmont	**3**
Boston	**5**
Bourne	**1**
Braintree	**1**
Brighton	**3**
Chelmsford	**1**
Dedham	**1**
East Dennis	**1**
East Walpole	**2**
Foxborough	**1**
Framingham	**3**
Georgetown	**1**
Jamaica Plain	**1**
Lexington	**2**
Mansfield	**2**
Medford	**1**
Milton	**2**

City	Number of respondents
Natick	**1**
Norfolk	**1**
Quincy	**5**
Raynham	**1**
Somerville	**1**
South Boston	**2**
Stoneham	**2**
Waban	**1**
Wakefield	**1**
Waltham	**3**
Wareham	**1**
West Dennis	**1**
West Roxbury	**1**
Westwood	**1**
Weymouth	**1**
Worcestor	**1**
Total	**55**

Table XXIV

AT PRESENT, DO YOU OWN YOUR OWN HOME?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	**80.65%**	50
No	**19.35%**	12
Total		**62**

Table XXV

An Albanian neighborhood is a friendlier place to live						
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neither agree nor disagree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**	**Total**
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**30.77%** 4	**30.77%** 4	**30.77%** 4	**7.69%** 1	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**16.67%** 3	**22.22%** 4	**50.00%** 9	**11.11%** 2	**0.00%** 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**12.50%** 3	**83.33%** 20	**4.17%** 1	**0.00%** 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 3	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	3

Table XXVI

Our children should learn to speak Albanian						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	69.23% 9	15.38% 2	15.38% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	16.67% 3	33.33% 6	38.89% 7	11.11% 2	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	12.50% 3	37.50% 9	45.83% 11	4.17% 1	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	0.00% 0	33.33% 1	66.67% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XXVII

I feel more comfortable in an Albanian Orthodox Church						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	53.85% 7	30.77% 4	7.69% 1	7.69% 1	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	27.78% 5	55.56% 10	16.67% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	16.67% 4	37.50% 9	41.67% 10	4.17% 1	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	66.67% 2	0.00% 0	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XXVIII

You should belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church even if it is located far from your home						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**15.38%** 2	**53.85%** 7	**23.08%** 3	**7.69%** 1	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**16.67%** 3	**33.33%** 6	**38.89%** 7	**11.11%** 2	**0.00%** 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**4.17%** 1	**58.33%** 14	**25.00%** 6	**12.50%** 3	**0.00%** 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**33.33%** 1	**66.67%** 2	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	3

Table XXIX

It is important for me to contribute my time, talents, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox Church						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**15.38%** 2	**61.54%** 8	**23.08%** 3	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**22.22%** 4	**61.11%** 11	**5.56%** 1	**11.11%** 2	**0.00%** 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**20.83%** 5	**37.50%** 9	**33.33%** 8	**8.33%** 2	**0.00%** 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**66.67%** 2	**33.33%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	3

Table XXX

Albanian Orthodox religious education is important for our children						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	15.38% 2	38.46% 5	38.46% 5	0.00% 0	7.69% 1	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	27.78% 5	38.89% 7	33.33% 6	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	20.83% 5	50.00% 12	16.67% 4	12.50% 3	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	33.33% 1	66.67% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XXXI

Regular church attendance is important for us all						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	15.38% 2	30.77% 4	46.15% 6	7.69% 1	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	22.22% 4	44.44% 8	27.78% 5	5.56% 1	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	12.50% 3	41.67% 10	33.33% 8	12.50% 3	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	66.67% 2	0.00% 0	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XXXII

Our children should learn Albanian dances						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**15.38%** 2	**38.46%** 5	**46.15%** 6	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**11.11%** 2	**38.89%** 7	**44.44%** 8	**5.56%** 1	**0.00%** 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**8.33%** 2	**45.83%** 11	**45.83%** 11	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**33.33%** 1	**33.33%** 1	**33.33%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	3

Table XXXIII

The Albanian Orthodox religious tradition helps to strengthen my family life						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**38.46%** 5	**38.46%** 5	**15.38%** 2	**7.69%** 1	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**33.33%** 6	**11.11%** 2	**44.44%** 8	**11.11%** 2	**0.00%** 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**20.83%** 5	**41.67%** 10	**29.17%** 7	**8.33%** 2	**0.00%** 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**33.33%** 1	**66.67%** 2	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	3

Table XXXIV

I prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	30.77% 4	30.77% 4	23.08% 3	15.38% 2	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	5.56% 1	16.67% 3	22.22% 4	50.00% 9	5.56% 1	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	0.00% 0	12.50% 3	54.17% 13	33.33% 8	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	33.33% 1	33.33% 1	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XXXV

We need stronger organizations to express the views of Albanian-Americans						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	46.15% 6	53.85% 7	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	22.22% 4	22.22% 4	44.44% 8	11.11% 2	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	4.17% 1	41.67% 10	50.00% 12	4.17% 1	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	33.33% 1	66.67% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XXXVI

Organizations which carry on the Albanian culture are important						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	46.15% 6	46.15% 6	7.69% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	27.78% 5	61.11% 11	11.11% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	12.50% 3	75.00% 18	12.50% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	66.67% 2	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XXXVII

We should be willing to give money to preserve the Albanian tradition						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	46.15% 6	46.15% 6	7.69% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	22.22% 4	50.00% 9	22.22% 4	5.56% 1	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	12.50% 3	54.17% 13	33.33% 8	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	66.67% 2	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XXXVIII

The Albanian tradition should be carried on by our young people						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	53.85% 7	30.77% 4	15.38% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	33.33% 6	27.78% 5	38.89% 7	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	8.33% 2	79.17% 19	12.50% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	66.67% 2	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XXXIX

We need centers where our young people can learn about Albanian culture						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	46.15% 6	46.15% 6	7.69% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	11.11% 2	66.67% 12	11.11% 2	11.11% 2	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	8.33% 2	58.33% 14	33.33% 8	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	33.33% 1	33.33% 1	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XL

We need to know the history of the Albanian people						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	53.85% 7	46.15% 6	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	38.89% 7	50.00% 9	11.11% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	20.83% 5	66.67% 16	12.50% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	66.67% 2	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XLI

The public schools should teach more about Albania and Albanian-Americans						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	23.08% 3	38.46% 5	23.08% 3	15.38% 2	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	22.22% 4	27.78% 5	27.78% 5	22.22% 4	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	4.17% 1	45.83% 11	45.83% 11	4.17% 1	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	33.33% 1	33.33% 1	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XLII

Albanian music makes me want to dance						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	53.85% 7	23.08% 3	15.38% 2	7.69% 1	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	33.33% 6	44.44% 8	22.22% 4	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	16.67% 4	54.17% 13	29.17% 7	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	0.00% 0	33.33% 1	66.67% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XLIII

Albanian newspapers and publications need to be continued						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	46.15% 6	30.77% 4	23.08% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	11.11% 2	61.11% 11	22.22% 4	5.56% 1	0.00% 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	8.33% 2	54.17% 13	33.33% 8	4.17% 1	0.00% 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	0.00% 0	66.67% 2	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

Table XLIV

I feel more comfortable with Albanian people						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**15.38%** 2	**30.77%** 4	**53.85%** 7	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**0.00%** 0	**27.78%** 5	**44.44%** 8	**27.78%** 5	**0.00%** 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**20.83%** 5	**75.00%** 18	**4.17%** 1	**0.00%** 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**0.00%** 0	**33.33%** 1	**33.33%** 1	**33.33%** 1	**0.00%** 0	3

Table XLV

If you are in trouble, you can count on Albanian people to help you						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q10: First Generation (born in Albania)	**23.08%** 3	**30.77%** 4	**38.46%** 5	**7.69%** 1	**0.00%** 0	13
Q10: Second Generation (born in America of parents born in Albania)	**16.67%** 3	**22.22%** 4	**55.56%** 10	**5.56%** 1	**0.00%** 0	18
Q10: Third Generation (born in America with at least one parent born in America)	**4.17%** 1	**41.67%** 10	**54.17%** 13	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	24
Q10: Fourth Generation (born in America with at least one grandparent born in America)	**33.33%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**66.67%** 2	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	3

Table XLVI

SCALE ITEMS SHOWING MEAN LEVELS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY BY GENERATIONAL GROUPS

Likert Item Number and Classification	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation	Fourth Generation
1. National identity	2.15	2.56	2.92	3
2. Cultural identity	1.46	2.44	2.42	2.67
3. Religious identity	1.69	1.89	2.33	1.67
4. Religious identity	2.23	2.44	2.29	1.67
5. Religious identity	2.08	2.06	2.29	1.33
6. Religious identity	2.46	2.06	2.21	1.67
7. Religious identity	2.46	2.17	2.46	1.67
8. Cultural identity	2.31	2.44	2.38	2
9. Religious identity	1.92	2.33	2.25	1.67
10. Religious identity	2.23	3.11	3.21	2
11. National identity	1.54	2.44	2.54	1.67
12. Cultural identity	1.62	1.83	2	1.3
13. Cultural identity	1.62	2.11	2.21	1.3
14. Cultural identity	1.62	2.06	2.04	1.3
15. National identity	1.62	2.22	2.25	2
16. Cultural identity	1.46	1.72	1.92	1.67
17. National identity	2.77	2.5	2.5	2
18. Cultural identity	1.77	2	2.13	2.67
19. National identity	1.77	2.22	2.33	2.33
20. National identity	2.38	3	2.83	3
21. National identity	2.31	2.5	2.5	2.33

Table XLVII

MEAN ETHNICITY SCALE SCORES FOR GENERATIONAL GROUPS

Ethnic Identity	First Generation Mean	Second Generation Mean	Third Generation Mean	Fourth Generation Mean
National Identity	2.08	2.49	2.55	2.33
Cultural Identity	1.69	2.09	2.16	1.84
Religious Identity	2.15	2.29	2.43	1.67
Total Ethnicity Mean	**1.97**	**2.29**	**2.38**	**1.95**

Table XLVIII

An Albanian neighborhood is a friendlier place to live						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	1
Q25: Working Class	**16.67%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**66.67%** 4	**16.67%** 1	**0.00%** 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	**13.33%** 4	**20.00%** 6	**56.67%** 17	**10.00%** 3	**0.00%** 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	**10.00%** 2	**20.00%** 4	**70.00%** 14	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	**100.00%** 1	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	1

Table XLIX

Our children should learn to speak Albanian						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	50.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	23.33% 7	36.67% 11	33.33% 10	6.67% 2	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	30.00% 6	25.00% 5	40.00% 8	5.00% 1	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table L

I feel more comfortable in an Albanian Orthodox Church						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	50.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	26.67% 8	43.33% 13	26.67% 8	3.33% 1	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	40.00% 8	35.00% 7	20.00% 4	5.00% 1	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LI

You should belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church even if it is located far from your home						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	0.00% 0	50.00% 3	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	10.00% 3	56.67% 17	26.67% 8	6.67% 2	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	15.00% 3	40.00% 8	30.00% 6	15.00% 3	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LII

It is important for me to contribute my time, talents, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox Church						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	33.33% 2	33.33% 2	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	16.67% 5	53.33% 16	23.33% 7	6.67% 2	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	30.00% 6	50.00% 10	10.00% 2	10.00% 2	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LIII

Albanian Orthodox religious education is important for our children						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	16.67% 1	66.67% 4	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	26.67% 8	40.00% 12	30.00% 9	3.33% 1	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	20.00% 4	40.00% 8	25.00% 5	10.00% 2	5.00% 1	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LIV

Regular church attendance is important for us all						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	33.33% 2	33.33% 2	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	16.67% 5	43.33% 13	30.00% 9	10.00% 3	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	20.00% 4	25.00% 5	45.00% 9	10.00% 2	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LV

Our children should learn Albanian dances						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	16.67% 1	66.67% 4	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	13.33% 4	33.33% 10	50.00% 15	3.33% 1	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	10.00% 2	40.00% 8	50.00% 10	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LVI

The Albanian Orthodox religious tradition helps to strengthen my family life						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	16.67% 1	50.00% 3	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	33.33% 10	30.00% 9	26.67% 8	10.00% 3	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	25.00% 5	35.00% 7	30.00% 6	10.00% 2	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LVII

I prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	50.00% 3	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	13.33% 4	20.00% 6	30.00% 9	36.67% 11	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	5.00% 1	20.00% 4	50.00% 10	20.00% 4	5.00% 1	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LVIII

We need stronger organizations to express the views of Albanian-Americans						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	16.67% 1	33.33% 2	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	23.33% 7	33.33% 10	40.00% 12	3.33% 1	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	20.00% 4	50.00% 10	25.00% 5	5.00% 1	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LIX

Organizations which carry on the Albanian culture are important						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	33.33% 2	50.00% 3	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	26.67% 8	56.67% 17	16.67% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	25.00% 5	75.00% 15	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LX

We should be willing to give money to preserve the Albanian tradition						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	20.00% 6	50.00% 15	30.00% 9	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	30.00% 6	65.00% 13	5.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LXI

The Albanian tradition should be carried on by our young people						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	33.33% 2	33.33% 2	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	36.67% 11	43.33% 13	20.00% 6	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	20.00% 4	60.00% 12	20.00% 4	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LXII

We need centers where our young people can learn about Albanian culture						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	16.67% 1	50.00% 3	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	23.33% 7	50.00% 15	23.33% 7	3.33% 1	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	15.00% 3	70.00% 14	15.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LXIII

We need to know the history of the Albanian people						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	50.00% 3	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	36.67% 11	53.33% 16	10.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	35.00% 7	65.00% 13	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LXIV

The public schools should teach more about Albania and Albanian-Americans						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	16.67% 1	50.00% 3	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	16.67% 5	50.00% 15	23.33% 7	10.00% 3	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	15.00% 3	15.00% 3	55.00% 11	15.00% 3	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LXV

Albanian music makes me want to dance						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	50.00% 3	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	36.67% 11	33.33% 10	26.67% 8	3.33% 1	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	15.00% 3	55.00% 11	30.00% 6	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LXVI

Albanian newspapers and publications need to be continued						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	16.67% 1	50.00% 3	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	20.00% 6	46.67% 14	30.00% 9	3.33% 1	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	10.00% 2	60.00% 12	25.00% 5	5.00% 1	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LXVII

I feel more comfortable with Albanian people						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	16.67% 1	16.67% 1	50.00% 3	16.67% 1	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	3.33% 1	23.33% 7	60.00% 18	13.33% 4	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	0.00% 0	30.00% 6	60.00% 12	10.00% 2	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LXVIII

If you are in trouble, you can count on Albanian people to help you						
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q25: Lower Class	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1
Q25: Working Class	33.33% 2	16.67% 1	50.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q25: Middle Class	20.00% 6	20.00% 6	56.67% 17	3.33% 1	0.00% 0	30
Q25: Upper-middle Class	0.00% 0	50.00% 10	45.00% 9	5.00% 1	0.00% 0	20
Q25: Upper Class	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1

Table LXIX

SCALE ITEMS SHOWING MEAN LEVELS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY BY CLASS

Likert Item Number and Classification	Lower Class	Working Class	Middle Class	Upper-middle Class	Upper Class
1. National identity	2	2.83	2.63	2.6	3
2. Cultural identity	3	2.17	2.23	2.2	2
3. Religious identity	2	2.17	2.07	1.9	2
4. Religious identity	1	2.67	2.3	2.45	2
5. Religious identity	2	2	2.2	2	3
6. Religious identity	2	2	2.1	2.4	2
7. Religious identity	2	2	2.23	2.45	2
8. Cultural identity	2	2	2.43	2.4	2
9. Religious identity	1	2.17	2.13	2.25	3
10. Religious identity	4	3	2.9	2.8	3
11. National identity	2	2.5	2.23	2.15	3
12. Cultural identity	1	1.83	1.9	1.75	2
13. Cultural identity	1	2.33	2.1	1.75	3
14. Cultural identity	2	2	1.83	2	2
15. National identity	3	2.33	2.07	2	2
16. Cultural identity	3	1.17	1.73	1.65	2
17. National identity	2	2.33	2.27	2.7	3
18. Cultural identity	2	1.67	1.97	2.15	2
19. National identity	1	2.17	2.17	2.25	2
20. National identity	2	2.67	2.83	2.8	3
21. National identity	2	2.17	2.43	2.55	2

Table LXX

MEAN ETHNICITY SCALE SCORES BY SOCIAL CLASS

Ethnic Identity	Lower Class Mean	Working Class Mean	Middle Class Mean	Upper-middle Class Mean	Upper Class Mean
National Identity	2	2.43	2.38	2.44	2.57
Cultural identity	2	1.88	2.03	1.99	2.14
Religious identity	2	2.29	2.28	2.32	2.43
Total Ethnicity Mean	**2**	**2.20**	**2.23**	**2.25**	**2.38**

Table LXXI

MEAN ETHNICITY SCALE SCORES OF THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE

Ethnic Identity	National Identity	Cultural Identity	Religious Identity
Mean	2.36	1.95	2.14

Table LXXII

WHAT IS YOUR GENDER?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Female	**58.21%**	39
Male	**41.79%**	28
Other (please specify)	**0.00%**	0
Total Respondents: 67		

Table LXXIII

DID YOU IDENTIFY WITH ANY RELIGIOUS TRADITION WHILE IN ALBANIA?

IF SO, WHICH?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Albanian Orthodox	**85.71%**	12
Any branch of Eastern Orthodox	**0.00%**	0
Catholic	**7.14%**	1
Protestant	**0.00%**	0
Muslim	**0.00%**	0
Not religious	**7.14%**	1
Total Respondents: 14		

Table LXXIV

HAVE YOU EVERY LIVED OUTSIDE OF MASSACHUSETTS? IF SO, FOR HOW LONG?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes, for less than 1 year	**4.76%**	3
Yes, for 1-3 years	**6.35%**	4
Yes, for 4-10 years	**15.87%**	10
Yes, I moved permanently	**3.17%**	2
No	**55.56%**	35
Other (please specify)	**14.29%**	9
Total		**63**

Table LXXV

WHAT IS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOU HAVE COMPLETED?

Answer Choices	Responses	
No schooling completed	**0.00%**	0
Grammar school (K-8)	**0.00%**	0
Some high school, no diploma	**1.59%**	1
High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent (for example: GED)	**7.94%**	5
Some college credit, no degree	**9.52%**	6
Trade/technical/vocational training	**1.59%**	1
Associate degree	**6.35%**	4
Bachelor's degree	**34.92%**	22
Master's degree	**22.22%**	14
Professional degree	**3.17%**	2
Doctorate degree	**12.70%**	8
Total		**63**

Table LXXVI

WHAT IS YOUR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, IF ANY?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Albanian Orthodox	**90.48%**	57
Any branch of Eastern Orthodox	**1.59%**	1
Catholic	**1.59%**	1
Protestant	**1.59%**	1
Muslim	**1.59%**	1
Not religious	**1.59%**	1
Other (please specify)	**1.59%**	1
Total		**63**

Table LXXVII

IN WHICH OF THESE GROUPS DID YOUR INCOME FALL LAST YEAR?

Answer Choices	Responses	
$10,000 to $19,999	**4.00%**	2
$20,000 to $39,999	**10.00%**	5
$40,000 to $99,999	**44.00%**	22
$100,000 to $199,999	**16.00%**	8
Over $200,000	**14.00%**	7
Other (please specify)	**12.00%**	6
Total		**50**

Table LXXVIII

PLEASE SELECT THE MOST APPROPRIATE RESPONSE FOR EACH STATEMENT.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total	Average Rating
An Albanian neighborhood is a friendlier place to live	**12.07%** 7	**18.97%** 11	**62.07%** 36	**6.90%** 4	**0.00%** 0	58	2.64
Our children should learn to speak Albanian	**25.86%** 15	**31.03%** 18	**37.93%** 22	**5.17%** 3	**0.00%** 0	58	2.22
I feel more comfortable in an Albanian Orthodox Church	**31.03%** 18	**39.66%** 23	**25.86%** 15	**3.45%** 2	**0.00%** 0	58	2.02
You should belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church even if it is located far from your home	**12.07%** 7	**50.00%** 29	**27.59%** 16	**10.34%** 6	**0.00%** 0	58	2.36
It is important for me to contribute my time, talents, and finances to the Albanian Orthodox Church	**22.41%** 13	**50.00%** 29	**20.69%** 12	**6.90%** 4	**0.00%** 0	58	2.12
Albanian Orthodox religious education is important for our children	**22.41%** 13	**44.83%** 26	**25.86%** 15	**5.17%** 3	**1.72%** 1	58	2.19

Table LXXVIII

PLEASE SELECT THE MOST APPROPRIATE RESPONSE FOR EACH STATEMENT, CONTINUED.

Regular church attendance is important for us all	**18.97%** 11	**37.93%** 22	**34.48%** 20	**8.62%** 5	**0.00%** 0	58	2.33
Our children should learn Albanian dances	**12.07%** 7	**41.38%** 24	**44.83%** 26	**1.72%** 1	**0.00%** 0	58	2.36
The Albanian Orthodox religious tradition helps to strengthen my family life	**29.31%** 17	**32.76%** 19	**29.31%** 17	**8.62%** 5	**0.00%** 0	58	2.17
I prefer church services to be conducted in the Albanian language	**10.34%** 6	**18.97%** 11	**36.21%** 21	**32.76%** 19	**1.72%** 1	58	2.97
We need stronger organizations to express the views of Albanian-Americans	**20.69%** 12	**39.66%** 23	**34.48%** 20	**5.17%** 3	**0.00%** 0	58	2.24
Organizations which carry on the Albanian culture are important	**27.59%** 16	**62.07%** 36	**10.34%** 6	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	58	1.83
We should be willing to give money to preserve the Albanian tradition	**25.86%** 15	**50.00%** 29	**22.41%** 13	**1.72%** 1	**0.00%** 0	58	2.00
The Albanian tradition should be carried on by our young people	**29.31%** 17	**50.00%** 29	**20.69%** 12	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	58	1.91
We need centers where our young people can learn about Albanian culture	**18.97%** 11	**56.90%** 33	**20.69%** 12	**3.45%** 2	**0.00%** 0	58	2.09
We need to know the history of the Albanian people	**36.21%** 21	**55.17%** 32	**8.62%** 5	**0.00%** 0	**0.00%** 0	58	1.72

Table LXXVIII

PLEASE SELECT THE MOST APPROPRIATE RESPONSE FOR EACH STATEMENT, CONTINUED.

The public schools should teach more about Albania and Albanian-Americans	**15.52%** 9	**37.93%** 22	**34.48%** 20	**12.07%** 7	**0.00%** 0	58	2.43
Albanian music makes me want to dance	**29.31%** 17	**43.10%** 25	**25.86%** 15	**1.72%** 1	**0.00%** 0	58	2.00
Albanian newspapers and publications need to be continued	**17.24%** 10	**51.72%** 30	**27.59%** 16	**3.45%** 2	**0.00%** 0	58	2.17
I feel more comfortable with Albanian people	**3.45%** 2	**25.86%** 15	**58.62%** 34	**12.07%** 7	**0.00%** 0	58	2.79
If you are in trouble, you can count on Albanian people to help you	**13.79%** 8	**31.03%** 18	**51.72%** 30	**3.45%** 2	**0.00%** 0	58	2.45

Table LXXIX

IN WHICH SOCIAL CLASS DO YOU THINK YOU BELONG?

Answer Choices	**Responses**	
Lower Class	**1.59%**	1
Working Class	**11.11%**	7
Middle Class	**53.97%**	34
Upper-middle Class	**31.75%**	20
Upper Class	**1.59%**	1
Total		**63**

Table LXXX

DO/DID YOUR PARENTS EVER EXPRESS A PREFERENCE AS TO THE KIND OF PERSON YOU SHOULD MARRY?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	**55.56%**	35
No	**44.44%**	28
Total		**63**

Table LXXXI

IF YES, SELECT AS MANY RESPONSES AS APPLY.

Answer Choices	Responses	
They preferred someone of the same nationality	**73.53%**	25
They preferred someone of the same religion	**55.88%**	19
They preferred someone from the same village/region in Albania	**2.94%**	1
They preferred someone with a good personality	**47.06%**	16
They preferred someone with a good financial standing	**35.29%**	12
Other (please specify)	**20.59%**	7
Total Respondents: 34		

Table LXXXII

WHEN DATING, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING FACTORS WERE OR ARE IMPORTANT TO YOU? SELECT AS MANY RESPONSES AS APPLY.

Answer Choices	Responses	
I preferred someone of the same nationality	**24.19%**	15
I preferred someone of the same religion	**24.19%**	15
I preferred someone from the same village/region in Albania	**1.61%**	1
I preferred someone with a good personality	**85.48%**	53
I preferred someone with a good financial standing	**32.26%**	20
Other (please specify)	**22.58%**	14
Total Respondents: 62		

Table LXXXIII

WHAT IS YOUR CURRENT MARITAL STATUS?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Married	**61.29%**	38
Widowed	**8.06%**	5
Divorced or separated	**9.68%**	6
Never married	**20.97%**	13
Total		**62**

Table LXXXIV

WHAT IS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOUR SPOUSE HAS COMPLETED?

Answer Choices	Responses	
No schooling completed	**2.63%**	1
Nursery school to 8th grade	**0.00%**	0
Some high school, no diploma	**2.63%**	1
High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent (for example: GED)	**13.16%**	5
Some college credit, no degree	**7.89%**	3
Trade/technical/vocational training	**0.00%**	0
Associate degree	**13.16%**	5
Bachelor's degree	**28.95%**	11
Master's degree	**13.16%**	5
Professional degree	**7.89%**	3
Doctorate degree	**10.53%**	4
Total		**38**

Table LXXXV

WHAT IS THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF YOUR SPOUSE, IF ANY?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Albanian Orthodox	**39.47%**	15
Any branch of Eastern Orthodox	**7.89%**	3
Catholic	**36.84%**	14
Protestant	**7.89%**	3
Muslim	**2.63%**	1
Not religious	**7.89%**	3
Total Respondents: 38		

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